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ART. I.—CONFESSIONS OF AUGUSTINE.

IN studying the history of religious opinions, two considerations are indispensable to a just practical judgment. No one age is independent of those which have preceded it. No individual, however original may be the character of his mind, is independent of the speculative results of his contemporaries. The errors of others, especially the prevalent errors of an age, modify or obscure the truth in the soundest minds; or are, by a false analysis, appended to what is true and carried along with it. The most discriminating intellect is aided in obtaining clear perceptions of truth by the developing and eliminating process through which it has passed in other minds. It is not however to be overlooked, that the most successful method of studying an age, or rightly understanding the manner in which any opinion has been apprehended and set forth in that age, is to study the character and opinions of one of its master spirits. Frequently a single great mind is a focal point, the light of which, contrary to the ordinary laws of nature, instead of making obscure the lesser lights, renders them more obvious. There is not, probably, a single idea in Jonathan Edwards's incomparable Treatise on the Human Will wholly new,—seed and trunk,—but he often brings out to the open light of day what had been but feebly conceived and obscurely expressed by his predecessors; and it is through him we are enabled to understand what they were feeling after.

Religious truth is rarely more tinged by the medium through which it shines than in the fifth century,—the age of Augus-

tine. And no age can we study with greater profit for a right apprehension of many of the doctrinal views of evangelical Christians of the present day. If the doctrinal development of the Trinity were the subject of investigation, an earlier period should be selected. We should begin with Justin Martyr in the latter half of the second century, when the doctrines of the gospel came first in contact with intellects of Greek discipline and with the principles of the Platonic philosophy. And if we would understand the methods of reasoning and the peculiar language of the formulas of the church on that subject, we must trace down the stream through the Alexandrian school to the Council of Nice. Clement, Origen, and Athanasius are the teachers of that period, only made more intelligible by familiarity with the opposing doctrines of Praxeas, Noetus, Beryll, and Sabellius, or with those of Arius and his Eastern associates. But though the Divine nature, revealed as consisting in God the Father, and in the personal distinctions and divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit, received at that time ampler discussion than it had previously, or has since till after the Reformation, anthropological discussions had chiefly their commencement in the fifth century. Man, his nature and moral condition as a sinner,—sin, its origin and development,—grace as a divine influence acting on the human will, free or enslaved, and restoring in the soul the life of God, had not been studied as subjects of scientific inquiry. They had been hitherto objects of observation and facts of experience, from which few general principles had been deduced. Such deductions had not been attempted. To reconcile doctrine with doctrine, especially the acknowledged principles of human nature with those of the Divine agency and perfections, so as to meet with a response from enlightened and philosophic reason, was, if possible, more difficult than the doctrine of the Trinity. The doctrine of the Trinity, as well as that of the two natures and one person of Christ, possesses more for ever absolutely inaccessible to the approach of human reason; yet on this account less perplexity is experienced from them. The field of investigation is narrowed as that of faith is widened. What cannot receive a scientific solution, and ought to be and must be believed on the naked authority of revelation, includes most that is difficult in these subjects. This is not the fact in Anthropology. Though there are points which never have been satisfactorily explained, such as the successful influence of temptation on the free will while under the dominion of holy affections, including aversion to sin,—the difference or identity of the cause

of holiness in Adam before the fall, and in himself and of renewed men in sanctification,—the rationale of the connection between Adam's first sin and the depravity and misery of his posterity, and the relation of the Divine to human agency in moral acts,—yet there is often a natural feeling that even these can and *must* be explained. In consequence of this the mind is always on the stretch, restless in attempting untried methods of solving these difficulties. Besides this, there is a wider range of principles; they are complicated and often entangled with one another. An inquiry into the mode of the Divine existence or the person of Christ may be more sublime; but in proportion as the subject is complete in itself, and is disinvolved, it has less to dissatisfy the mind of the inquirer. This is one of those subjects which we are more willing to acknowledge may lie without the range of human inquiry,—something wholly beyond the reach of the most penetrating sagacity. Revelation is here felt and confessed to be exclusive authority.

But, however difficult is the subject of Anthropology, with none has the human mind ever grappled with more intense earnestness than it did with this in the fifth century. Little additional light was contributed for the succeeding 1,000 years. The limit of genius in those ages was the ability to understand and elucidate the speculative results of that wonderful period.

Among the theological writers of the fifth century none are so deserving to be studied as Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo. God obviously raised him up to accomplish through him a particular work,—to defend the church from the corrupting influence of Pelagianism, and to give to subjective theology a scientific form. And there was a wonderful fitness between the instrument and the work to be done. It is not eulogy to say that few such intellects have ever adorned our race,—fewer still have been the defenders of divine truth. "He was ready to dispute with sharpest wits, best furnished with choicest eloquence and learning. For in him was most plentiful study, most exact knowledge of Holy Writ, a sharp and clear judgment, a wit admirably clear and piercing."* Calvin, however profound or comprehensive and just as a systematizer, and though in him was even more "plentiful study" and "exact knowledge," if not of "Holy Writ," doubtless of general sciences, and of languages in particular, must for ever hold in the estimation of the Christian world an inferior rank. He had less genius—less spontaneity of thought. He holds the same relation to Augustine in theology which the younger

* Lodovicus Vives.

Pitt does to the elder in eloquence, or Virgil to Homer in poetry. The judgment was equally sharp and clear, but the wit was not so quick and piercing. With Augustine the deep things of God welled up from the depths of the soul, from religious feelings of which Calvin's nature could not be the subject. Truth was first seen by Calvin and then felt. Augustine often perceived a doctrine to be true, because he had been conscious of its realization in his own experience. In this he resembled our Edwards.

It is not our design, nor are we qualified, to consider the works of Augustine generally. We shall confine our remarks to his *Confessions*. There are valid reasons why we select this from among his voluminous works, many of which were written expressly to explain and vindicate doctrines which will be brought under the notice of the reader of this article. The *Confessions* are a doctrinal narration of the author's personal experience, designed to honor the grace of God, setting forth the Divine love and the moral power of the gospel. It is a concrete or subjective view of divine truth. It is pervaded by a solemn sense of the degree of his own guilt and the strength of his own depravity, which constantly reminds us of David's confessions in the 51st Psalm. He speaks of himself as a man needing and receiving the grace of God. His mind was not so ripe as when at a later period he composed some of his other works. But the *Confessions* are more truthful, because they are not controversial. They were also written in the strength of his manhood.* A sufficient time after his conversion had elapsed to furnish opportunity to re-examine his theological positions. The extraordinary excitement of mind which preceded and attended his conversion must have subsided, allowing his opinions to settle down into calm as well as honest convictions. They are worthy to be read with the persuasion that they are *his* actual experience. He was no enthusiast. He was incapable of this vicious element of character. His wit was too piercing and his judgment too sharp to live years under a religious delusion. They are thoroughly interesting to the Biblical scholar, reminding him ever and anon of God's mysterious providence, and of those striking delineations of the soul-history of wayward men, under the "severe mercy" as well as healing grace of Him who has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. His "great, but wild and ungoverned energies,"† under the influence of temptations by which in early life he was tempest-driven, show the fear-

* A. D. 400, aged 46.

† Neander.

ful power of sin. No one can watch the progress of his soul,—fiery lusts in violent conflict with the purifying and subduing grace of the Almighty, taming, regulating, and healing the soul till it finds sweet repose in the mercy and merits of Christ,—without admiration of the might which is stronger than the strong man armed. Augustine's history shows what is in man, as ordinary minds cannot. It requires the arm of Vulcan grappling the sledge to disclose the form of the muscles in any arm. They all exist in the softest and feeblest, but they will not serve the artist as a model. Nor would Pelagius, his opponent, nor Alyppius, his friend and fellow-converter, furnish a copy from which to delineate human nature in its moral conflicts. There is no essential unlikeness in the principles of depravity in different men. Some are passionate and gentle, others irascible and hasty. Some men's sins are secret, others' open and noisy, going before to the judgment. But the principles are the same. There is in neither the love of God till visited by the Spirit of grace. Both are of the earth, earthy. The meadow brook as little violates its law of declivity as the mountain torrent. The Mississippi, though it has less impetuosity than the Niagara, is scarcely less irresistible, and is as certainly lost in the same ocean's gulfs. There is often depth and strength not perceptible. While therefore in reading these *Confessions* we are sensible that all men's moral features are not as distinctly developed, we are not, on the other hand, to forget that as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man. "A man may see himself while he looks upon other men, as well as know other men by considering his own inclinations."* That which is born of the flesh is flesh. The same likeness also characterizes every Christian heart. That which is born of the Spirit is spirit. We would use Augustine's history, both before and after his conversion, only as a painter would Vulcan's arm.

Another reason why the *Confessions* are selected is, that they are an unbiased testimony as to the doctrines then prevalent in the church. It is difficult to read a controversial work—as many of Augustine's later ones were—without the suspicion that the method of argument at least is warped by opposition. The agonist in adjusting himself to his antagonist often finds his position a false and fatal one. Augustine's opinions at the time he wrote the *Confessions* were not a discovery, doctrines just broached and promulgated. Tertullian 200 years before, Gregory of Nazianzum,† Hilary of Poitiers,‡

* Bp. Patrick.

† Died A. D. 390.

‡ Died A. D. 360.

and Ambrose of Milan,* all held substantially the same opinions concerning sin and grace as Augustine. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the doctrines of these writers are essentially unlike, or in advance of, the theological views of the mass in their immediate communion. The theological opinions of Ambrose, Augustine's spiritual teacher, though exhibited in a less scientific form, were not opposed or displaced by his illustrious pupil and convert. The coin, though it dropped from the mint with angles not so sharp, wanted nothing in weight. Pelagianism, so called, always had, without doubt, its advocates in the Christian church. So had also Augustinism. The writings of the apostle Paul laid the foundation for such a tendency. And there have always been men who, like Augustine, "suffer impatiently the lot of man;" who "fret, sigh, weep, and go distracted;" who "bear about a shattered and bleeding soul," and who find no place of repose. "Not in calm groves, not in games and music, nor in fragrant spots, nor in curious banquetings, nor in the pleasures of the bed and the couch, nor finally in books or poesy," do they find it. All things to such minds "look ghastly, yea, the very light," when God's awful truth seizes the conscience with the authority of one who must be listened to and obeyed.

There are a few other facts in the history of Augustine which, to a right understanding of the Confessions, the reader needs to keep in mind. The age in which he lived had its own *form* of vices. One of his parents was a heathen,† the other a Christian.‡ He was thoroughly instructed in heathen philosophy, especially in the Platonic, of which he was an admirer. He was for several years a Manichean, believing that sin is a substance,—the *hulee* of matter,—an eternal, unchangeable vitiosity, necessarily inhering in our bodies; that the soul is a portion of the Divinity, and is evilly affected by its union with the body, thus not only taking from sin its guilt, but destroying all morality. The whole picture therefore is that of a fiery spirit, bent on sinful indulgence, made war upon by the authority of God reiterated by the awful sanctions of conscience, and deepened by the fear of death and the final judgment. These are all seen near and distinct; with the conditions in Augustine's life just referred to, lying in the background scarcely less conspicuous, giving shape and size to those in the foreground, and rendering their peculiarities more striking and disagreeable.

The reader should also keep in mind that the book is not a

* Died A. D. 398.

† Patricius.

‡ Monica.

discussion, but confessions. And these confessions are made to God, and not to men, though written for the benefit of men; reminding us of the apostle, who, before a blasphemer and a persecutor and injurious, confesses, "For this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting."* It is a book of praise to the riches of Divine grace. Scarcely less instructive than Edwards's work on the Affections, it is more devotional. The reader feels himself in the condition of one who accompanies a pardoned, penitent, grateful culprit into the private presence of the king, where, clasping the knees of his gracious sovereign, he pours out his soul in contrite and grateful confessions.

THE PROVIDENCES OF GOD WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONVERSION
OF AUGUSTINE.

Every man has a secret history. There is however much that is common in the principles of this history of different men. The places and incidents may greatly vary; but the more each one knows of the peculiar providences of others, the better he understands his own. In this consists the peculiar charm of autobiography. To the Christian there is the additional interest, that he sees in it the hand of God. In entering the kingdom of Christ every believer is sensible of having been led by a way that he knew not. And it is a religious idea full of interest to know that God by his providences treats others on the same principles on which he treats ourselves. Though Augustine saw as clearly and believed as firmly as mortal mind can that believers are such according to an "election of grace," yet he recognized with equal distinctness that such an election was only a part of a comprehensive and eternal plan, embracing the means as well as the gracious end. "Whom he predestinates, them he also calls."† And with the internal call of the Spirit and the Word, God's providences conspire. They not unfrequently lead the way.

In selecting a few of these providences in the life of Augustine as specimens, the first that seizes the attention is that of maternal influence. Monica was a female of extraordinary natural endowments. These were all unusually set apart to the service of God, especially to the religious training of her children, often travailing in birth for them as she saw them swerve from God.‡ Though a woman of great personal in-

* 1 Timothy i. 13-16.

† Romans viii. 30.

‡ B. ix. ch. 22.

fluence, prayer was her chief power, as the *Confessions* of her son fully attest. "Asking of Thee with so many tears; daily watering the ground under her eyes in every place where she prayed, weeping in prayer." "Couldst Thou despise and reject from Thy aid the tears of such an one, whereby she begged of Thee, not gold or silver, nor any mutable or passing good, but the salvation of her son's soul?" "I cannot express . . . with how much more vehement anguish she was now in labor of me, in the spirit, than at her child-bearing, in the flesh."* These Christian graces were God's gifts to her, and she to Augustine as a mother. Had his mother been a heathen like his father, or vain and trifling like many professed disciples of Christ, a link in the chain of providences would have been wanting.

Again, at the age of nineteen, when occupied exclusively in the study of rhetoric, useless if not pernicious when studied to the neglect of sounder science, and at a time when allied to a clique of Carthaginian students, whose savage and licentious life, "under the badge of gallantry," secured them the appellation of "Subverters," he fell upon Cicero's *Hortensius*,—an exhortation to philosophy. This contributed nothing directly towards his conversion, but he confesses, "It altered my affections and made me have other purposes and desires, . . . and I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to rise that I might return to Thee."† To say nothing of any other influence, this changed his intellectual character, which resulted again in a change of associates. This change of companions had an important bearing on his final conversion.

The death of a friend was another link in this chain of providences. This occurred while teaching rhetoric at Thagaste. His sorrow was so great that he was induced to flee from a place full of so many sad recollections. Leaving Thagaste, he opened a school at Carthage; God choosing to bring him into the society of Faustus, a Manichean Bishop, whose reputation had, for many years and in distant lands, given fatal authority to his false teachings. The "piercing wit" and "sharp judgment" of Augustine readily perceived the shallowness of his actual knowledge and the fallacy of his arguments. By this providence his confidence in Manicheism was undermined.

But annoyed by the ill-manners of his students, he soon leaves Carthage for Rome, where he is informed students can be found more polite and of congenial taste. The students at

* B. v. chs. 16, 17.

† B. iii. ch. 7.

Rome, though more refined, were however less honest than those of Carthage. He could not collect his lecture fees. And just as God was closing this door upon him, his unseen hand was opening another at Milan, where the government was in search of a teacher. For this office Augustine at once makes application, while his old Manichean friends, by uniting their personal influence to strengthen the validity of his credentials, ignorantly promote the mercy of God in delivering him from their snare. At Milan was pious Ambrose at that time, one of the most excellent of the Latin fathers. In adoring this merciful providence, Augustine confesses unto God the fitness of the means which were employed to reclaim him from his errors. "To Milan I came, to Ambrose the Bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, Thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourse did there plentifully dispense unto Thy people the flour of Thy wheat, the gladness of Thy oil, and the sober inebriation of Thy wine."*

These are only a selection of the providences of God confessed by Augustine to have contributed to his final knowledge of salvation. Few Christians can read them and not be reminded of the way in which the Lord has led themselves.

PROGRESS BEFORE CONVERSION.

The apostle Paul's conversion was sudden. One is led to suppose, by the account given of it by himself, that the heart believed the instant he was sensible of the presence of Christ. The outward light, above the brightness of mid-day, was only an emblem of that which shined in his heart in the face of Jesus Christ. The transition from that state of spiritual darkness in which he was breathing out threatening and slaughter, to that of a clear appreciation of the Son of God, and of a prayerful submission to his will, apparently occupied but a few moments. The apostle hastily inquired, "Who art thou, Lord?" And he answered, "I am Jesus." So suddenly did the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus make him free from the law of sin and death. There is nothing peculiar in this conversion which distinguishes it from every other, if we confine our observation to the actual and saving change,—the new birth. No sinner is the subject of any such transition previous to regeneration, by which, prior to that event, he is not as dead in sins, as fearfully under condemnation, as at any former period of his life. But there is often a long preparatory work, changing not only the intellectual condition, but also the

* B. v. ch. 23.

affections. Augustine was one of this class. He struggled from early childhood till his thirtieth year with convictions which failed to convert him; which left him still the prey of doubts and errors. He was often plunged into the mire of sin by sensual propensities the most degrading and mean, honestly confessed on his part; his object being to glorify the riches of Divine grace. Or if loftier aspirations influenced him, they were not less unholy, and as effectually estranged his heart from God. Yet during all this time the hand of God was upon him. In looking back upon his course, it is obvious God was bringing him to Himself. There was *progress* of a certain kind: not in holiness,—this he well understood, and honestly confesses. In what then was it progress? While with some every change in manners and opinions is only an additional token of perdition, others, and we believe not a few, are subjects of changes, even before conversion, which make that event increasingly probable. There is frequently an increase of thoughtfulness,—a growing distinctness in doctrinal knowledge,—a giving way of prejudices against much that is connected with religion, though not against the humbling doctrines themselves. The vanity of the world is seen and felt, in connection with intense longings for some higher good, some better portion. The understanding is gradually disentangled from the toils of error, and the feelings become increasingly susceptible to fear, and the conscience to a sense of guilt and shame. In their views there is often progress; such that when seen by Christians, by the anxious parent, or the earnest minister watching for souls, it is ground of encouragement. Not because it is piety or the germ of it, for we suppose the soul yet in the “gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity;” but because such a one is of a class whom most frequently God effectually calls.

The Confessions amply sustain this view.

His mother's early instructions and general religious influence left impressions on the mind of Augustine which were never wholly effaced. They frequently check him in his mad career. These convictions not unfrequently slept, but were ever and anon awakened into powerful action by the extraordinary incidents of his life. When dangerously sick in childhood he eagerly asked for baptism, conscious that some cleansing preparation was necessary to meet God in peace. Alluding to a dangerous sickness at a later period, he confesses, “The fear of death and of Thy judgment to come called me back from a deeper gulf of pleasure.”* Being

* B. vi. ch. 26.

beaten at school when a child for idleness, he prayed that God would cause his teachers to spare him. When tempted in church, during public worship, he prayed for chastity, *to be given at some future time*. When reading the philosophers he was sensible that there was wanting in them his mother's Christ. When a thirst for wisdom, excited by reading Cicero, led him to scorn the simple teachings of divine revelation, and to plunge into the labyrinth of Manichean absurdities, he seemed to be departing from the goal, (conversion;) but when we see his confidence in this corrupt system undermined by Faustus, its redoubtable champion, and his thirst for wisdom unabated, we still distinguish the hand of Him "who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." Some of these are fixed points, around which his religious life seems to swing. In others are elements of progress. But this progress is chiefly seen after Augustine meets with Ambrose at Milan. His heart is first opened by kindness, one of the most powerful agents in the gospel ministry, not to convert, but to open the furrow for the reception of the seed. Augustine confesses, "To him was I unknowingly led by Thee, that by him I might be knowingly led to Thee." "That man of God," he adds, "received me as a father, and showed me episcopal kindness." "Thenceforth I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the truth, (which I utterly despaired of in Thy church,) but as a person kind toward myself." "And I listened diligently to him." "I hung on his word attentively, but of the matter I was a careless and scornful looker-on. Salvation is far from sinners such as I then stood before Thee; and yet was I drawing near by little and little, and unconsciously."* Dissatisfied with the Manichean heresy, and his heart opened by Christian kindness, he was finally prepared to listen to the instructions of Ambrose with candor. He soon perceived that the teachings of the Scriptures were not absurd, as he had imagined; that the doctrines of a divine revelation are subjects of faith, and that we ought not to require for their reception demonstration; that sin is an act of free-will, and not, as the Manicheans taught, of necessity.

By this time he is prepared to make advances independent of Ambrose. The providence of God had brought under his eye the philosophical writings of Plato, or rather of the New Platonists, which speak of the Logos as with God and as God,—as distinct and as identical. Of whatever errors these false speculations may have been the occasion in other minds, they were doubtless the means through grace of leading

* B. v. ch. 23.

Augustine to the true knowledge of God in Christ. Not that this doctrine was actually taught in these abstruse speculations; but because, resembling the Scriptural teachings on one point, he was led to a sincere study of them, especially of the epistles of Paul, which opened to his inquiring soul the spiritual doctrine of a Mediator. He confesses: "Thou procuredst for me, by one puffed up with most unnatural pride, certain books of the Platonists, translated from Greek into Latin. And therein I read, not indeed in the very words, but to the very same purpose, enforced by many and divers reasons: That in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, &c.; and that the soul of man, though it bears witness to that light, yet itself is not that light. But I read *not* in the books of the Platonists that He came to his own, and his own received him not; but as many as received Him to them gave He power to become the sons of God. Again I read therein that God the Word was born, not of flesh, nor of blood, &c., but of God. But I read *not* there that the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us. I traced in those books that it was many and divers ways said, that the Son was in the form of the Father. But I found *not* in them that He emptied Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. That of his fullness souls receive, *is* there. But that in due time He died for the ungodly, *is not* there."* This intellectual perception—this discovery of the difference between the Logos of the Platonists and that of the gospel, who loved us, and gave himself for us—was progress. It was followed by others concerning God and sin equally distinct and important. They were not important because they were holy, or acceptable to God, or because they are conditions of salvation to which God has made any promise of renewing grace. Augustine confesses that he was not yet a Christian. Though he wondered that he now loved God, and no phantom, as when a Manichean, yet he says: "I did not press on to enjoy my God; but was borne up to Thee by Thy *beauty*, and soon borne down from Thee by my own weight, sinking with sorrow into inferior things. This weight was carnal custom. I was not yet such as to cleave to Thee." He confesses his spiritual impotency: "I then sought a way of obtaining strength sufficient to enjoy Thee, and found it not till I embraced that Mediator betwixt God and men—the man Christ Jesus. And had I not sought Thy way in Christ our Saviour, I had proved to be not skilled, but killed."†

* B. vii. ch. 13–15, abridged.

† B. vii. chs. 13–27. Here, as in a few other passages, abridged.

Another influence, such as the providence of God often furnishes to ripen the convictions of awakened sinners, was experienced by Augustine. Feeling after truth with the veil still on his heart, he listened to a narration of the circumstances connected with the conversion of two distinguished individuals,—one a rhetorician and philosopher, to whom a statue had been erected in the Forum at Rome.* Having been an idolater till a late period of life, he became a believer in Christ from the reading of the Scriptures, and made a public profession of his faith at great temporal sacrifice. The other was an Egyptian monk,† who, with a reputation for sanctity exceeding what fallen humanity perhaps under any degree of grace granted in this life ever justly merits, was the wonder of the nations for his apparent crucifixion to the world. Such was the condition of Augustine's mind at the time, that he was at once "on fire to imitate them." But he adds: "A hard bondage held me inthrall'd;" "bound not with another's irons, but by my own iron will;" "for of a perverse will comes lust; and a lust, yielded to, becomes custom; and custom, not resisted, becomes necessity."‡ Augustine had not yet been converted. Progress had been made in many respects, but the secret spring of moral actions had not yet been reached by the quickening power of Divine grace. The heart had not been changed. There was wanting still that spirit of obedience, which faith that works by love alone can give.

AUGUSTINE'S CONVERSION.

But he confesses: "Now was the day come when I was to be laid bare to myself. With what scourges of condemnation did I not lash my soul, that it might follow me, striving to go after Thee. Yet it drew back! refused, but excused not itself,—there remained a mute shrinking; and she feared, as she would death, to be restrained from the flux of that custom whereby she was wasting to death." The struggle at this point became fearfully severe. The will, the castle of the strong man armed, was never less shaken; but it was assailed by the most awful pressure, God standing at the gate of the soul, his requisition of an unreserved surrender enforced by reason, by the fear of a judgment to come, by the desire of eternal life, and by the decisions of a conscience in harmony with God's requirements. But as the hour of surrender, or of his deliverance, speak of it which

* Victorinus.

† Anthony.

‡ B. viii. ch. 10.

way you will, drew near, his perception of duty to God, and of his own need of mercy,—of his helplessness, and that his help was alone in God,—sensibly increased. We will listen to his own confessions: “Thou, Lord, didst press me inwardly with severe mercy, redoubling the lashes of fear and shame, lest I should again give way, and that same slight, remaining tie should recover strength, and bind me faster. For I said, Be it done now; be it done now. And as I spoke, I all but enacted it. I all but did it, and did it not; yet sunk not back to my former state, but kept my stand hard by, and took breath. And I essayed again, and wanted somewhat less of it; and somewhat less; and all but touched and laid hold of it, hesitating to die to death and to live to life. And the very moment I was to become other than I was, [a new creature,] the nearer it approached me the greater horror did it strike into me; yet did it not strike me back, nor turned me away, but held me in suspense.”* But these mutterings of sin soon “spake more faintly,” and he confesses: “But Thou, O Lord, art good and merciful, and Thy right hand hath respect unto the depth of my death, and from the bottom of my heart emptieth that abyss of corruption. And this, Thy whole gift, was to nill what I willed, and to will what Thou willedst. But where through all these years was my free-will, and out of what low and deep recess was it called forth *in a moment*, so that I submitted my neck to thy easy yoke, O Christ Jesus, my helper and my Saviour? How sweet did it at once become to me to give up those sweetnesses I had feared to be parted from.” He represents God as expelling the sweets of sin, not by pressing the conscience, all of which had proved ineffectual,† but “by entering Himself, the true and highest sweetness, sweeter than all pleasure.”‡ He at once confesses: “Now was my soul free, and my infant tongue spoke freely to Thee, my brightness, and my riches, and my health.”§ We discover in the experience of Augustine, that he was drawn to Christ by the Father, not by strengthening the resolution to come to him, but by giving a new affection. The bitter became sweet, and the sweet bitter. He no longer nilled, but willed. Love is the moving element which determination follows, but never originates.

This is an interior view of the conversion of one of the most remarkable men that has ever believed on Christ. We omit all notice of place and incidents connected with this conversion,—the garden, the voice, “as of a boy or girl,” bidding him open the gospel and read,—the significant pas-

* B. viii. ch. 26. † Rom. vii. 14-16. ‡ Rom. viii. 10. § B. ix. ch. 1.

sage on which his eye first fell, directed, as he supposed, by the Spirit of God, and of the quiet and peaceful conversion of his friend Alyppius. These, as particulars, are all full of interest, but have little to do with the great principles involved in the new creation; and their relative importance will be less in heaven than on earth.

Augustine lived forty-four years after his conversion,—six as a private Christian, three as a presbyter, and thirty-five as Bishop of Hippo. His life as a Christian was as remarkable as that portion of it to which we have referred. Few men were ever so industrious, or self-denying, or so efficient. His episcopal labors were incessant, and his published works, though only portions of them are of special value at the present day, are a monument of toil and genius rarely equalled. The Confessions were written when he had been Bishop five years—that is, fourteen after his conversion. They were not intended to be a history of his Christian life, but of the way he became a Christian, to magnify the grace of God in bringing him into the fold of Christ. In giving this rapid sketch, we have intentionally passed by some of his opinions. That he was a *Churchman*, holding the realistic idea of a catholic unity, and the sacraments of the church, especially baptism, to be channels of grace, is obvious. Some who believe with us, that the only actual unity of the church is charity, the bond of perfectness, and that the sacraments are only signs or channels of truth, “may wonder how one of so sharp a judgment” as Augustine should not have seen the fallacy of such doctrines. The readiest solution will be given perhaps by asking another question: How could Plato, and Philo, and Origen, and Augustine, and a thousand others who have been lights in the world as philosophers, believe that *generic ideas* could have an actual existence, distinct from their individual objects and from the understandings by which they are conceived? This folly with all others had its beginning, we imagine, in Adam, when, relinquishing the providential guidance of a Father’s hand and wisdom, he chose to walk by the light of his own understanding, since which he and his children have been studying in the school of experience. In it there has been but little light and much confusion. Their attainments, toilsome as they have been, are justly designated “the knowledge of good and evil.” No teachings are certainly true but those of the Bible. To this we bow our souls, both intellects and hearts. But while we thus speak of Augustine and of all the fathers and teachers uninspired, we admire

Augustine as a theologian and as a Christian, and cannot dismiss him without examining at least one important doctrine, which both in his Confessions and in his system generally occupies a prominent place.

AUGUSTINE'S VIEWS OF SIN.

His doctrine of *original* sin has sharp angles, and cannot be misapprehended. The doctrine itself may have difficulties, but as to Augustine's views of it there can be no diversity of opinion. He extends back our accountability to Adam, in whom we sinned *en masse*; and hence are justly punished, not for Adam's sin separate from ours, (by imputation technically understood,) but on account of our individual, personal share in that first sin of Adam. It is manifest that he was not led to the adoption of this opinion by the Latin translation of Romans v. 12, in which the "for that" of our received version has "in whom," (*in quo.*) It is much more probable that the translation itself is the result of the doctrinal opinion of the translator; and that Augustine's opinion is in harmony with his. Both were probably philosophical Realists. It is certain Augustine was. According to this principle every individual is merged in its class, not as one of a collective number, but by a mysterious identity. But be the origin of his opinions what it may, they are not mistakable. In one of his epistles he says: "If they are vessels of wrath which are prepared for destruction, which is awarded as due to them, let them impute this to themselves, because *they are made of that mass* which God has condemned justly and according to desert for the sin of the one in whom all have sinned. But if they are vessels of mercy to whom, though formed of the same mass, he has not willed to award the punishment due, let them not inflate themselves," &c.* In his Confessions he acknowledges the principle to be personal, and does not blink. Speaking of a dangerous sickness from which God restored him, in answer to the prayers of his absent mother, he says: "I was going down to hell, carrying all the sins which I had committed both against Thee and myself and others, many and grievous, over and above that *bond of original sin* whereby we all die in Adam."†

The Pelagians afterwards taught that infants are now born in the same moral state in which Adam was created; that they have not actually depraved tendencies; that the so frequent and extensive commission of sin has its origin in a

* Wiggins, translated by Professor Emerson, p. 222.

† B. v. ch. 16.

frail, imperfect *natural* constitution, (Adam's being the same from the first,) tried and tempted by their condition in life; all of which is aggravated by the vicious example of others, of whom Adam is file-leader only. Augustine on the other hand taught, both before and during his controversy with the Pelagians, that in the case of all infants there is a "bond of original sin, [depravity and condemnation,] according to desert;" that our original depravity and much of our present suffering are our just punishment for our part of the guilt of the first sin ever committed by the race. That the doctrine of the Pelagians is not true, the Word of God in the Scriptures and the voice of God in our own consciousness, as well as the universal history of the human family, show clearly. Not only do all men commit actual sin as soon as responsible, but it is plain that the Pelagian view does not account for it. There must be some cause, some secondary cause. This we call original sin, or depravity; that is, some vitiosity of the soul, in consequence of which in its first moral acts it is estranged from God. Whether this is something positive *in the soul*, or the privation of something; and, if the latter, whether this privation be merely the absence of a positive divine and holy influence, whose quickening presence is essential to holy exercises and acts, we do not believe capable of a satisfactory answer. That every human being does, at whatever age it may be, commence his accountable actions sinfully from some cause, we do believe most firmly. It not only accords with the teachings of the Bible and general history, but with our earliest consciousness within the limits of personal memory. Nor have we any less assurance of the correctness of the opinion, that it is the awful manifestation of the Divine abhorrence of the first sin of Adam. We connect our original depravity as closely with Adam's first sin as Augustine did; but we deny the philosophical connection—the Realism in his doctrine.

There are various methods which have been adopted to justify the act of God in linking our destiny with that first sin of Adam. The ordinary one is the theory, that the posterity had actually or virtually their probation in Adam. Augustine, with thousands of others, has supposed that our probation in Adam was an actual one. This opinion is based, as we have said, on philosophical Realism, a sublime error,—that there is a sense in which the race are a unity, a whole, or a total assemblage of parts, all existing at once in one. To say nothing of the express teaching of the Word of God, that every man shall give account of himself,—meaning ob-

viously as a distinct moral agent,—Augustine, had he lived at this age, would have rejected the doctrine of Realism. And the surrender of this opinion must have modified his method of teaching the doctrine of original sin. He deemed all sin to depend on an act of free-will ; that is, of choice or desire. Our guilt goes back to the time of Adam's first sin because, and only because, as a part of the *total assemblage*, we exercised free-will in that act !

Others, who consider the race to have had virtually, not actually, a probation in Adam, say he was justly a representative as well as a federal head, by appointment ; and that the trial was a fair one, our liableness to sin being as great as his, had we been similarly situated. This is the ground of its justice. There is no reason in the nature of the case why we should not have sinned. Perhaps some are of the opinion that, if the question had not been submitted to Adam and settled as it was by him, each one of his posterity would have had a separate and individual probation. Now it may be true that we would be as liable to fall as he, but we neither perceive nor feel the justice of treating us as guilty because we *might* have been so. On that principle the holy angels might have been expelled from heaven when their companions rebelled. There was probably no reason in the nature of the case, God's sovereign support excepted, why all were not equally liable to fall. We do not *deny* in these matters. We only doubt. And because, as we think, there is no light shed on the question either by reason or revelation.

There is one other method of solving this difficult question, which, though we attach no special importance to it, has sometimes appeared to us less objectionable than any other. This recognizes as the basis of man's accountability the natural and moral powers of his constitution. God would have been just, this theory supposes, had he made man, any man, Adam himself, at first, as our race begin their moral career. The effect of Adam's guilt on his posterity is an unspeakable loss, compared with what Adam enjoyed before the fall, or compared with what all enjoy who have received the aids of the Divine Spirit. It is a loss of the Divine favor on the principle of liabilities. It is an evil, they say, including the utter moral depravity of the soul, resting on one on account of the guilt of another ; but that, as the evil is not such as destroys accountability, it would have been *just* in God to have made us as we are born irrespective of the antecedent sin of any one. This fall from a high state, where the benevolence of God had placed man before sin, to a lower one, (not below the line of

pure justice, even without antecedent sin,) is the direct consequence of the guilt of Adam. It is his sin and our loss. Irrational animals and even unconscious matter participate in the effects of Adam's guilt. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together till now." Man, though left with powers which justly make him accountable, either has something which Adam had not, or lacks something which he had, at his creation,—something which secured to his first moral exercises a holy quality, but which does not to ours. This loss is in consequence of Adam's guilt. The most plausible argument in support of this theory is, that the rejection of it seems to require us to fall back upon the idea of such a probation in Adam as makes his guilt ours *personally*; or, which we think cuts athwart the whole tenor of the scheme of mercy, to adopt the Arminian doctrine, that God would not have been just in creating us as he has done, had he not also provided as an offset spiritual influences, by which man commences his moral life with moral as well as natural power to be holy. In this case, which we are confident is in contradiction of the gospel, regenerating influences, that is, influences which enable the man to regenerate himself, are already in contact with the powers of the soul, working and only needing free-will's spontaneous co-working to gradually pass into a regenerate state. In this case regenerating influences are not, at least in the outset of life, a grace, but a debt. God would not have been *just* to have withholden them. So the Arminian says, and of course he denies the soul's dependence for them on the efficacy of the atonement. We believe, on the other hand, that no spiritual influences are enjoyed at any period of life, which are not grace in the fullest gospel sense, to the ill-deserving. The other points may be uncertain; this cannot be. He who runs can read. The Spirit of life comes to us through Christ Jesus.

But it is difficult, perhaps, to evade the conclusion, that if we did not incur personal guilt in Adam, and God was under no obligation to furnish spiritual aid to the race, he would have had a right to create us as we are, though Adam had not sinned.

We do not believe that any other hypothesis which we can form will render this difficult subject any more satisfactory to human judgment. "Secret things belong unto God." This is one of them. It is the proper sphere for the exercise of faith. The pious spirit is willing to leave the question with Him who is not only thrice holy, but who is also love. All we can say is, such was the *appointment of God*, that if Adam

should sin, his posterity should all sin as a consequence,—should sin by free-will. If this comes under the doctrine of general liabilities, it is an awful instance of it. It seems a case *sui generis*; and much of it is absolutely inexplicable. But we confess it is not less true or awful on that account: One thing however is certain: the sinner will not have to give an account for Adam's sin, though he may, and if he die unconverted will, suffer for sins of his *own*, which he never would have committed had Adam kept his first estate. This view does not link our destiny in any such sense to another as to undermine the solemn sense of personal accountability.

Augustine never spoke with confidence as to the propagation of souls as Tertullian did, or as to their creation as the Christian world have most extensively believed. He did teach, however, that sin (depravity) is propagated, and as a punishment for our sin in Adam. What exact idea can be attached to the propagation of depravity we do not know. He can hardly have intended that sin consists at first in merely irregular sensuous susceptibilities. There are lusts of the mind as well as of the flesh,—ambition, pride, envy, &c. These are states of the soul exclusively; and if the soul is not propagated, we do not perceive how these depraved tendencies can be. Here again we are less wise. No theological doctrine ought to be made to depend on the truth either of Traductionism or Creationism.

Sin, according to Augustine, is not a substance, but an aberration of free-will. This he said against the Manicheans, who considered sin as eternal as god. It was the *τὸν* or matter, a principle of one class of existence, standing opposed to *Νοῦς* or mind, the principle of another class of being, as seen in God and in the higher powers of the human soul. Sin, according to this heresy, is not opposed to right as a moral quality of the actions of a free will, but a nature opposed to another nature. This rendered sin in man, composed as he is of body as well as mind, necessary, and so devoid of guilt. Having been himself a Manichean for nine years, he was well able to rend the meshes of their toils.

Though the Hopkinsians of this country have claimed Augustine as authority, if any passage in his writings can be found which supports their peculiar notions,* he must be at

* To the question, Why do men so soon as they become moral agents always choose evil before they choose good? Dr. Emmons replies: "I can give no better reason than this: God appointed Adam to be the public head of his posterity, and determined, in case of his disobedience, that they should begin to sin before they begin to be holy. This determination God has executed, by directly operating on the hearts of children when they first become moral agents. The native depravity of all

variance with himself. He confesses that God is not the author of sin, but the orderer of it. "The creator and orderer of all things in nature,—*of sin the orderer only.*"*

The guilt of sins committed in early life generally is deemed by Augustine to be more serious than is ordinarily supposed. It is in this way he accounts for the penal severity experienced in the sufferings of after life. Speaking of these sins and sufferings of himself, he exclaims, in the anguish of penitence: "Is this the innocence prone to boyhood?" adding, as to the sufferings: "Fit penalty for one so small—a boy, and so great a sinner."† Reminding us of David: "Remember not the sins of my youth."

At how early an age children commit actual sin has ever been one of those painful questions, the difficulties of which baffle all attempts at a satisfactory solution. Some of the points however in this inquiry are clear. "Sin is a transgression of the law." Transgression may be a wrong feeling or disposition of heart, as well as an act properly so called. The law, to some extent and to some degree of appreciation, may be recognized by an uninstructed conscience. It would be difficult to show, we presume, that the properties of external objects are, without the assistance of other powers, more distinctly apprehended by the perceptive faculties, or relations by the judgment, than duty is by the unassisted conscience. But whether the conscience is as early developed as perception, or even as the judgment, requires proof. As the conscience is the highest power of the human soul, and that which more than any other distinguishes men from animals, it may be a later development. Sir James Mackintosh not only places its rise in the soul at a later period than many of the primary sensations, pleasures and pains, than the social affections, and even than self-love itself, but he considers these as "contributory streams" to its final formation.‡ Dr. Emmons, on the other hand, inquires, Why must we not suppose that the little child becomes a moral agent as early as the little lamb becomes possessed of all the mental powers and faculties which constitute it a natural agent?§ This doctrine of course requires that all the powers of the human soul are developed equally early. To this view analogy seems to be opposed. The powers of both body and mind are, so far as we can observe, developed only so early as needed. This

mankind comes in this way, in consequence of Adam's first sin."—Dr. Emmons, vol. IV. p. 508.

* B. i. ch. 16

† B. i. chs. 19, 30.

‡ Mackintosh's View of Ethical Philosophy.

§ Vol. IV. p. 502.

principle probably is a safe one, and as applicable to the conscience as to any other faculty. But even this does little more than settle the fact that there is a conscience in early childhood,—how early we cannot say. Augustine predicates sin of himself as an infant so early as he began to fling about at random limbs and voice; indignant with his elders for not submitting to him; avenging himself on them with tears.*

As to the method by which sin is developed in the soul, Augustine shows abundant experience and varied observation, as well as a certain exactness of moral perception. For this reason alone the *Confessions* deserves to be studied by every young minister. It will ripen his own experience, and assist in forming a habit of observation. He considers sin as seated in the depraved will, developing itself in accordance with the general laws of the mind, excited by example, and strengthened by custom. But the most fearful view, and one we believe sustained by the teaching of Scripture, is that an increase of depravity is a penal infliction. The method of infliction he does not, as we remember, describe. As he teaches that God is "not the author of sin, but the orderer only," we are sure he would reject the doctrine of Dr. Emmons, that God "excites it by operating directly on the heart.†

He speaks from experience when he says sin is attended in its exercise with "great restlessness," often with "great shamelessness."‡ All sin, he adds, proposes some end, and yet the heart often loves sin and commits it for its own sake; as when he stole pears for the sake of stealing, having "a store of better." "For," he says, "when gathered, I flung them away, my only feast therein being my own sin, which I was pleased to enjoy. For if aught of those pears came within my mouth, what sweetened it was sin."§

This article is already too long, much more so than we intended. There are however a few additional remarks which we are inclined to make. The *Confessions* have been the subject of criticism. Those who dislike the doctrines will of course discover sufficient occasion for fault-finding. The mere rhetorician, incapable of appreciating their higher excellences, especially the moral grandeur and depth of pious feeling, gushing up on every side like living waters from deep wells, will complain of the affectation in his frequent antitheses. Such a one might sigh for Addison or Cicero, as he reads, "My good deeds are Thine appointments and Thy

* Book i. ch. 8.

† B. ii. chs. 2, 8.

‡ B. i. chs. 28, 29; B. ii. ch. 2; B. x. ch. 5.

§ B. ii. chs. 11, 12.

gifts: my evil ones are my offenses and Thy judgments." But we look upon these passages, with which the work abounds, as central lights. They are not only impressive, but are symbols. They give us a bird's-eye view of the panorama. They make the reading of the book slow, but not tedious. The mind is detained, because excited to reflection. There is scarcely a page on which are not to be found points in theology which arrest the attention. The mind of the reader often loses itself in unconsciously tracing out the numerous and remote relations and principles involved in one of these short and energetic sentences. They are capsules full of seeds.

We add, in closing, the whole thirteen Books of these Confessions are not of equal interest or value. The last four in particular have little to do with the main design of the work—a confession of sins and of mercies. If read, it will be as a curiosity, as one visits the pyramids of Egypt—to *wonder*. These Books are a wonder, and to a mind properly disciplined, are a key to the state of the theological mind in the age of Augustine. But they are to be visited only as monuments of antiquity.

ART. II.—THE OBJECT IN FORGING THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

THE recent publication of the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, with a Prize Essay on their origin and contents, has already called forth some interesting discussions. The principal religious periodicals of various denominations in our country, have exhibited evidence that many intelligent and reflecting minds have a deep impression of the importance belonging to these remarkable documents, as illustrating ecclesiastical history and antiquities. The more the work itself is examined, the deeper will be this impression. However diverse may be the views of those who survey this splendid specimen of pious fraud from different points of observation, or under the influence, more or less, of preconceived opinions, and particular church connections, all must admit that here are many curious problems to be solved; and that

in order to solve them we need to increase our knowledge of the past, and thus transfer ourselves to a far distant age.

The question has sometimes been asked, Who is the hero of Milton's great epic poem? Different replies have been given; but none, perhaps, satisfactory to all. And we remember once to have read an octavo volume intended to bring to a happy termination the learned discussion on the primary argument of the *Iliad*. Was it the wrath of Achilles? Was it Troy in flames? Was it the woes that were suffered? Or, was it the accomplishment of Jove's purpose? There have been diversities of opinion, also, in respect to the primary argument, the leading subject of the apostle Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and of other writings which are, or ought to be, familiar to all. We need not wonder, therefore, if we meet with discordant representations as to the design of a religious work now little known, and, in some respects, peculiarly liable to be viewed through a distorting medium.

We doubt not that more objects than one were had in view: Christian virtues, and practices, and doctrines, according to the conception of the writer; numerous rites and ceremonies, and ecclesiastical arrangements; and, high over all, the eternal unity of the church, with the exaltation of her clergy. To the whole, as a comprehensive system of institutes, it was designed to give the sanction of apostolic authority.

But an hypothesis has recently been brought forward, which represents that *the* object of the forgery was to propagate Arianism. As this has been urged with much ingenuity and with earnestness, it may lead some into error; and an error at this point would make entrance for many other errors.

It has been affirmed that in the Constitutions "the personality of the Holy Ghost is never recognized; and that there is no trace of any doctrine of the Trinity in the whole work." Surely whoever speaks thus must have overlooked B. iii. c. 17, B. vi. c. 11, B. viii. c. 4, 5 and 12, B. vii. c. 22 and 41, with numerous other passages where the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are mentioned in close connection with each other, as in the formula of baptism, and in the doxologies. In these there is considerable variety, most of them rendering ascriptions of worship to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit, and others giving "all glory, worship, and thanksgiving, honor and adoration to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit."

In endeavoring to support the hypothesis to which we have referred, respecting the design of the Constitutions, it has

* ————— Διός δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή.

been affirmed that a "subordination of the Son to the Father is assumed throughout." Thus far the statement seems to be correct. It would perhaps be asserting too much to say that the writer of the Constitutions conceived of the subordination as being an *essential* one, in the technical sense of the term. His manner, in this respect, resembles that of many of the Ante-Nicene fathers. They often express themselves in a style which, if used after the controversy respecting the doctrine of Arius, would have been regarded as Arian. To say nothing of earlier writers, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, may furnish an illustration. He was a member of the Nicene Council, (A. D. 325,) and with all his liberality, and all his personal friendliness for Arius, he had no intention of departing from the current doctrine of the church. Yet, in his Ecclesiastical History, (B. i. c. 2,) written a short time before the assembling of that Council, he speaks of Christ in a manner remarkably similar to that of the Constitutions. The chapter is entitled a *Summary View of the Pre-existence and Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*; and Eusebius there denominates him "the first and only offspring of God, the prince and leader of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven, the angel of the mighty council, the agent to execute the Father's secret will, the maker of all things with the Father, the second cause of the universe next to the Father, the true and only Son of the Father, and the Lord and God and King of all created things, who has received power and dominion with divinity itself, and power and honor from the Father." A little after he speaks of him as "a certain ante-mundane, living, and self-existent substance, ministering to the Father and God of all unto the formation of all created objects."

In the Constitutions it is said, B. vi. c. 11, "We profess that Christ is not a mere man, but God the Word and man, the High Priest of the Father;" and B. v. c. 20, "Ezekiel, also, and the subsequent prophets, affirm everywhere that he is the Christ, the Lord, the King, the Judge, the Lawgiver, the Angel of the Father, the only-begotten God. Him, therefore, do we also preach to you, and declare to be God the Word, who ministered to his God and Father for the creation of the universe."

Every one must perceive a striking resemblance in the language of Eusebius to that which is found in these and several other of the characteristic passages of the Constitutions. If it be said that his soundness of doctrine was called in question, we reply that it was not the language which he had used, either in his Ecclesiastical History, or even in his

Evangelical Demonstration, where he had developed his system more fully before the rise of the Arian controversy, but it was some of his efforts afterwards, if we mistake not, that made men stand in doubt of him. In the latter work he had showed that, with Origen, he was inclined to favor the theory of subordination,—to consider the Son as the perfect reflection of the original light, the image of the unbegotten and primary Essence. He acted in conjunction with the Nicene Council that condemned Arius; and he always retained his standing as an orthodox Bishop. He was, we know, opposed to introducing into the Nicene Creed a term not found in the Holy Scriptures, and involving, in the proposed connection, as he thought, an unnecessary authoritative decision by men respecting the essence of God. Our object in referring to him has been, not to maintain that all his views of Christian doctrine were correct, but to show that, before the Arian controversy, views like those in the Apostolical Constitutions may have been entertained and inculcated, without any design of propagating heresy, or any desire, on the part of the writer, to change what he supposed to be the general belief of the church in regard to our Saviour.

Speaking of Eusebius, and referring to his work entitled *Evangelical Preparation*, Neander, in the second volume of the *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, (p. 368,) says:—"In that work, written before the time of the Arian controversies, he does not hesitate, it is true, to call the Son of God the perfect production of the Perfect (τέλειον δημιουργημα του τελείου), and so consequently he could name him also the perfect created being (κτίσμα τέλειον); but before the Arian controversies, men did not in fact, as a general thing, distinguish so carefully, in the Eastern Church, the doctrinal expressions employed on this point. But it may be gathered from the whole connection and train of ideas in Eusebius, that he made an essential distinction between the Son of God and created beings; and in the work on *Ecclesiastical Theology*, written after the Arian controversies, he declared himself expressly as being against those who reckoned the Son of God among created beings (κτίσματα): he taught that God was the *Father* of the Christ alone,—the God and Creator of all other beings; that the Son of God had come into existence in a way wholly different from all other beings,—consequently that there was an essential difference between the notion of a Son of God and that of a created being."*

The Constitutions, too, it must be admitted by all, re-

* See *Ecclesiastical Theology*, B. i. c. 8.

present Christ, in his super-human nature, to be the Son of God in a sense altogether peculiar; as expressed in B. vii. c. 41: "His only-begotten Son, the First-born of the whole creation, who, before the ages, was, by the good pleasure of the Father, begotten, not created;" and in B. viii. c. 12, where the Father is addressed thus: "who didst bring all things out of nothing into being, through thine only-begotten Son, but didst—before all ages, by thy will, thy power, and thy goodness, without any intermediate agent—beget him, the only-begotten Son, God the Word."

In regard to the phrase in B. vi. c. 11, *the First-born of the whole creation*, were we to comment on its being used here, we would say, the only ground for supposing this to be an interpolation must be the fact that the expression in Col. i. 15, was a favorite text among the Arians. But it might have been quoted by any one very readily, and without giving offense, *before the Arian controversy*, which did not arise till nearly twenty years of the fourth century had passed away. And in regard to what is said of some who are denominated heretics, in B. vi. c. 26, namely: "They suppose that Jesus himself is the God over all, and glorify him as being his own Father, and suppose him to be both the Son and the Comforter;"—it seems to us that the writer may have had in view such teachers as Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius, whose doctrine had been condemned.

These two passages, we are aware, the learned author of the Prize Essay (p. 428) regards as Arian interpolations. We would view them, especially the latter one, rather in the character of evidence that the writer of the Constitutions assumed the theory of a subordination of the Son to the Father, as being very prevalent in his time. He who writes for the purpose of establishing anything, usually aims to establish something besides what he assumes as being admitted. If now the writer of the Constitutions assumes that doctrine throughout, and if, as he manifestly does, he uses it to illustrate and confirm the high claims of the hierarchy, does it not become probable, at least, that one of his leading objects was to strengthen those claims?

No one pretends that such claims were entirely new. But in the Constitutions they are made exceedingly prominent. In the first seven books they are urged with much zeal and ingenuity, by the original author; and in the eighth by his continuator, who, it is evident, has partaken largely of his spirit. That they met with opposers, and needed some confirmation, may be inferred from various passages, especially

in the second book, and in B. viii. c. 46 :—"Now this we [the apostles] all in common proclaim, that every one remain in that rank which is appointed him, and transgress not the limits ; for they are not ours, but God's. For saith the Lord, *He that heareth you, heareth me ; and he that heareth me, heareth Him that sent me.* And, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me ; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me.*

"For if those things that are without life observe good order, as the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, the seasons, the months, the weeks, the days, the hours, and are subservient to the uses appointed them, according to that which is said, *Thou hast set them a bound which they shall not pass ;* and again, concerning the sea, *I have set bounds to it, and have encompassed it with bars and gates ; and I said to it, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further ;*—how much more ought ye not to dare to remove those things which we, according to the will of God, have determined for you ? But because many think this a small matter, and venture to confound the orders, and to remove the ordination which belongeth to them severally, snatching to themselves in a stealthy manner dignities which were never given them, and allowing themselves to bestow arbitrarily that authority which they have not themselves, and thereby provoke God to anger, (as did the followers of Corah and King Uzziah, who, having no authority, usurped the High Priesthood, without commission from God ; and the former were burnt with fire, and the latter was struck with leprosy in his forehead ;) and exasperate Christ Jesus, who hath made the constitution ; and also grieve the Holy Spirit, and make void his testimony ; therefore—foreknowing the danger that hangeth over those who do such things, and the neglect about the sacrifices and eucharistical offices which will arise from their being impiously offered by those who ought not to offer them ; who think the honor of the High Priesthood, which is an imitation of the Great High Priest, Jesus Christ our King, to be a matter of sport—we have found it necessary to give you warning in this matter also ; for some are already turned aside after their own vanity. . . . Being taught by the Lord the series of things, we distributed the functions of the High Priesthood to the Bishops, those of the Priesthood to the Presbyters, and the ministration under them both to the Deacons ; that the divine worship might be performed in purity."

Whoever reads such passages as these with care and candor, and then calls to mind the unquestioned sway to which, at length, the hierarchy attained, while the Constitutions, with

all their acknowledged excellences and their plausible claim to apostolical authority, were industriously circulated, will not easily believe, without some evidence, that it was too strong an expression to say that they seem to have exerted, silently and indirectly, a powerful influence during several of the early ages of the Church. Were it necessary, the same remark might be made with reference to other matters sanctioned by the Constitutions.

The statement on which, in this connection, a reviewer has animadverted, was not made in any sense, so far as we can see, conflicting with the facts which he has arrayed against it. That "this view is" *not* "also opposed to the opinion of Dr. Krabbe," appears from what he says (p. 377) in reference to anointing or chrism: "The origin of this rite we have to seek in the Old Testament, and indeed in the idea of the Levitical priesthood,—which, in the time of our Constitutions, *and especially through them*, was supposed to be transferred to Christianity."

When we mention the Constitutions as facilitating the introduction and prevalence of the doctrines and usages which they sanctioned, we mean, certainly, that this work co-operated with other causes to introduce those doctrines and usages wherever it had influence; not that it was anywhere adopted in form as a new code, nor that it superseded all other formularies, nor that it inculcated what could have no appearance of ever having been, in any place, received and practised before. Hence, to indicate the nature of the case in as few words as possible, the influence has, we think, been appropriately represented as having been exerted *silently and indirectly*.

In regard to the supposition that, in early times, the Constitutions did not exert any considerable influence, because *not sufficiently known* to do so, it seems to us quite obvious that, even if we, in the nineteenth century, have only a *few* references to the work for a century or two after it was written, this can be no proof that it was not known sufficiently to exert great influence. We have, it is conceded, good evidence that it was written at an early period. Now, the nature of the work must be considered. And here the case speaks for itself. The zeal which brought such a work as the Constitutions into existence, would take care to bring them into circulation, in a way and to an extent suited to their purposes. To prove this, no external testimony is requisite; but to disprove it, much would be needed. Besides, in view of the testimonies given by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius, we

do not see how, in this case, any one can well urge the paucity of references.

But what were some of those high claims of the hierarchy to which we have alluded? A striking specimen may be found in the Constitutions, B. ii. c. 35; where, after treating of the offerings or oblations which the people were to present to the priest, "as the mediator between God and such as stand in need of purification and forgiveness," and which he, "the disposer of ecclesiastical affairs," was to use for the support of worship, for the relief of the poor, and for other religious purposes, according to his discretion, it is added: "Yet thou shalt not call thy Bishop to account, nor watch his administration, how he performeth it, when, or to whom, or where, or whether he do it well or ill, or indifferently; for he hath one who will call him to an account, the Lord God, who put this administration into his hands, and thought him worthy of the priesthood of so great dignity."

This, it is obvious, was addressed to the laity and those over whom the Bishop presided. It was not for *them* to supervise and judge *him*; nor was it for other Bishops to interfere with him in the sphere of his duties; but if he fell into heresy or into open and scandalous immorality, it was understood that he was liable to censure and condemnation by his peers, his fellow Bishops.

That some such doctrine of the episcopate was considerably prevalent at an early period, can easily be proved. An author who is not in the habit of making adventurous assertions, Gieseler, in his Ecclesiastical History, (vol. i. p. 236,) speaking of the time from the year 193 to the year 324, says: "At this time, great stress was laid on the fact that all Bishops were perfectly alike in dignity and power; and that each in his own diocese *was answerable only to God for his conduct.*" And this statement he sustains by pertinent citations from Cyprian's work on the Unity of the Church, and from his Epistles.

That, in the passage just quoted from the Constitutions, the writer was aiming to strengthen the claims of the hierarchy, is too manifest to be denied, even by the supporters of the hypothesis on which we are animadverting. How, then, is the passage to be reconciled with the hypothesis? Let us see:—"The object of the author," it has been said, "seems to have been to carry with him the weak, the ambitious, and the designing of the Bishops, by flattering them with titles of honor and power, by elevating them above the people, by making them irresponsible of all power and authority upon

earth ; and thus to lay a foundation for their security, should they embrace the heresy he was desirous of propagating.”!

On this representation, as a whole, it will perhaps be deemed sufficient to remark, that there appears no evidence of its correctness.

But it has been suggested that the work might have proceeded from some member of the Samosatean school ; and an ingenious parallel has been exhibited between the errors of Paul of Samosata, who became Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 260, and the teaching of the Constitutions. It is well adapted to influence the minds of many. But to those who are thoroughly acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the times in which this prelate lived, we do not think that it will, for a moment, be satisfactory.

1. “Paul held and taught ‘low and degrading notions of Christ,’ (Euseb. vii. 27, 30,) and so do the Constitutions.”

But Eusebius, in the passage of his Ecclesiastical History referred to, respecting this Paul, immediately adds to the words here quoted,—“and taught that he [Christ] was in nature but a common man.” Without pausing to expatiate on his system and the speculative views by which it was modified and made plausible, we would fix attention on this brief statement. It is substantially confirmed by the very careful investigations which have been made in more recent times ; as any one may see by consulting Mosheim’s or Milman’s account, or Gieseler’s selection from the original documents, and Neander’s lucid exposition. According to the Samosatean theory, Christ—to whatever dignity he may have attained by the extraordinary influence of divine reason and illumination from above, by superlative advancement in virtue, and by perfect harmony with the will of God—was regarded as being essentially and in his proper nature *a mere man*. Do the Constitutions teach the same ? Let the extracts which we have already presented, testify.

2. “Paul was ambitious of civil titles, ‘affecting lofty things, assuming with great haughtiness worldly dignities, wishing rather to be called a magistrate than a Bishop,’ (*Encyc. Ep. in Euseb.* vii. 30 ;) and the Constitutions, as we have seen, give to Bishops a great variety of secular titles, contrary to the uniform practice of the Church: Compare especially B. vi. 2.”

The first passage here referred to, is B. ii. c. 25 : “Ye, therefore, at the present day, O Bishops, are to your people priests and Levites, ministering to the holy tabernacle, the holy catholic church ; who stand at the altar of the Lord

your God, and offer to him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices, through Jesus the great High Priest. Ye are to the laity prophets, rulers, governors and kings; the mediators between God and his faithful people, who receive and declare his word, well acquainted with the Scriptures. Ye are the voice of God, and witnesses of his will, who bear the sins of all, and intercede for all; whom, as ye have heard, the Word severely threateneth if ye hide from men the key of knowledge; who are liable to perdition, if ye do not declare his will to the people that are under you; who shall have a sure reward from God, and unspeakable honor and glory, if ye duly minister to the holy tabernacle. For as yours is the burden, so ye receive, as your fruit, the supply of food and other necessaries. For ye imitate Christ the Lord; and, as he *bare the sins of us all upon the tree*, at his crucifixion, the innocent for those who deserved punishment; so also ye ought to make the sins of the people your own." The second is B. ii. c. 26: "The Bishop is the minister of the Word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; and next after God, he is your father, who hath begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit. He is your ruler and governor; he is your king and potentate; he is, next after God, your earthly God, who hath a right to be honored by you." And the passage in B. vi. c. 2, which we are especially requested to compare with these two, in order to make out the parallel between the errors of Paul of Samosata and the teaching of the Constitutions, is as follows: "Let us therefore, beloved, consider what sort of glory that of the seditious is, and what their condemnation. For if he that riseth up against kings is worthy of punishment, even though he be a son or a friend, how much more he that riseth up against the priests! For by how much the priesthood is more noble than the royal power, as having its concern about the soul, so much hath he a greater punishment who ventureth to oppose the priesthood, than he who ventureth to oppose the royal power, although neither of them goeth unpunished." To all which we ought, perhaps, to add a few words from B. ii. c. 6: "Let a Bishop be not entangled with the affairs of this life; . . . not ambitious. . . Let him be prudent, humble, apt to admonish with the instructions of the Lord, well-disposed, one who hath renounced the wicked projects of this world, and all heathenish lusts. Let him be orderly, sharp in observing the wicked and taking heed of them, but yet a friend to all; just and discerning; and whatsoever qualities are

commendable among men, let the Bishop possess them in himself."

The reader, *with these passages fully before him*, will, we suppose, need no comment. He will need only to bear in mind that the condemned Bishop of Antioch held a high civil office, (that of *ducenarius Procurator*,) with the pomp and honors of which he was thought to be exceedingly elated. The Constitutions, most manifestly, would have a Bishop magnify his spiritual office, and keep aloof from all secular employments.

3. "Paul prepared for himself a tribunal and a throne, like the rulers of this world, (*ib.*) and the Constitutions give directions concerning both. Thus, B. ii. 47 directs the time and manner of the Bishop's court; B. ii. 57, the place of the Bishop's throne, and the manner in which the clergy should be arranged,—the Presbyters sitting, the Deacons standing on each side of him."

Whoever will turn to the Encyclical Epistle itself, to which reference is here again made, and which may be found in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, will perceive that the offense committed was, not the preparing of a tribunal and throne, after the manner and style of a Christian Bishop, but the doing of it ostentatiously, after the manner and style of a secular magistrate. The Council observe: "We shall say nothing of his preparing himself a tribunal and throne, not as a disciple of Christ, but having, like the rulers of this world, *a secretum*, and calling it by this name." The Latin word *secretum*, which is used in the Greek text of the Epistle, indicates the *separated* and exclusive seat or place where the magistrate sat while deciding cases. To separate him the more effectually from all other persons that were present, the place was elevated, and inclosed with railings and curtains.

Paul was deposed in the year 269. He had presided over the church at Antioch, one of the most wealthy and luxurious cities of the East. And if he was among the foremost to introduce a pompous display into the large city churches, it does not follow that this had any special connection with his speculative system. Other Bishops in flourishing cities, being situated in this respect substantially as he was, may have exerted an influence similar and even superior to his in favor of arrangements to sustain the dignity of the High Priesthood. It is certain that a few years only after the close of the third century, (after the year 313 and before the year 315, as might be shown from internal evidence,) when the newly rebuilt Christian temple at Tyre was dedicated, the preparing of thrones for Bishops was adverted to, not with reproach, but

with joy and congratulation. On that occasion Eusebius himself, the ecclesiastical historian, delivered a panegyric, in the course of which he said: "When the architect had thus completed the temple, he also adorned it with lofty thrones, in honor of those who preside, and also with seats decently arranged in order throughout the whole, and at last placed the holy altar in the middle. And that this again might be inaccessible to the multitude, he inclosed it with frame lattice-work, accurately wrought with ingenious sculpture, presenting an admirable sight to the beholders."*

But why is reference made to what the Constitutions say in B. ii. c. 47? After directing that the judicatures of Christians be held on Monday, so as to give the most ample opportunity for having the contending parties brought to peace before the Lord's day, the chapter proceeds thus: "Let also the Deacons and Presbyters be present at your judicatures, to judge without acceptance of persons, as men of God, with righteousness. When therefore both the parties are come, according as the Law saith, [Deut. xix. 17,] they shall both stand in the middle of the court; and when ye have heard them, give your votes religiously, endeavoring to make them both friends before the sentence of the Bishop, that judgment against the offender may not go abroad into the world; knowing that he (the Bishop) hath in the court the Christ of God, observing and approving his judgment. But if any persons are accused by any one, and their fame suffereth, as if they did not walk uprightly in the Lord; in like manner ye shall hear both parties, the accuser and the accused, but not with prejudice, nor with hearkening to one party only, but with righteousness, as passing a sentence concerning eternal life and death."

Do these injunctions indicate any influence from the Samosatean school? Our readers doubtless all remember that an apostle (in 1 Cor. vi. 1) had asked, "Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?"

4. "It was one of the charges against Paul, that he accumulated wealth by his exactions of the people, (*ib.*;) and the Constitutions are particular in their directions concerning oblations. Thus B. iv. 4-9 exhort to magnificent offerings, and B. ii. 25 had directed what was to be done with them. All these were to pass through the hands of the Bishop, who was never to be inquired of concerning them."

In reply, we call attention again to B. ii. c. 6, where it is

* See his History, B. x. c. 4.

said: "Let not a Bishop be given to filthy lucre; . . . not covetous nor rapacious; not eager after worldly things, nor a lover of money. . . . For if the pastor be unblamable as to any wickedness, he will compel his disciples, and by his manner of life press them to become worthy imitators of his own actions;"—and to B. ii. c. 25: "Let him [the Bishop] use those tenths and first-fruits which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God. Let him dispense in a right manner the free-will offerings which are brought in on account of the poor, the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts who hath committed the disposition to him. . . . Now we say these things, not as if ye might not partake of the fruits of your labors; for it is written, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox which treadeth out the corn*; but that ye should do it with moderation and righteousness."

5. "The Constitutions give to the Bishop that honor and reverence, authority, and irresponsibility to the church, which the Council that condemned Paul tell us he exacted and received from the people."

We have examined carefully the Epistle of the Council, as preserved by Eusebius; and we have been utterly unable to find any basis for this fifth and last specification. Without saying another word in this connection, we are willing to submit the whole effort concerning the discarded Bishop to any sober-minded man, of any denomination: Can Paul of Samosata be made a scape-goat to bear away into the wilderness the hierarchical sins of these mysterious Constitutions?

We hasten to other topics belonging to the subject before us. Respecting the opinions of the Ante-Nicene fathers, it may be well to call to mind the elaborate and voluminous works of Petavius* and of Bull.† Whoever has examined them, and

* Dionysii Petavii, e societate Jesu, Opus de Theologicis Dogmatibus; in six folio volumes, edited by Leclerc, at Antwerp, A. D. 1700. The second volume treats of the Most Holy Trinity, and is dedicated Trinitati personis distinctæ, PATRI ingenito et genitori; FILIO soli ac sine initio genito; SPIRITUI SANCTO, ab utroque procedenti;—uni, coeterno, consubstantiali Deo.

† Georgii Bulli, S. Theologicæ Professoris et Presbyteri Anglicani, Opera Omnia, quibus duo præcipui Catholicæ Fidei Articuli, de S. Trinitate et Justificatione, orthodoxè, perspicuè, ac solidè exponuntur, illustrantur, confirmantur; in one folio volume, edited by Dr. Grabe, A. D. 1703. The works pertaining to the subject now before us are three:—1. Defensio Fidei Nicænæ, ex Scriptis Catholicorum Doctorum, qui intra tria prima Ecclesiæ Christianæ secula floruerunt. This consists of four principal sections; the last of which is De Subordinatione Filii ad Patrem, ut ad sui originem ac principium. 2. Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Trium Primorum Seculorum, de Necessitate credendi quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus sit verus Deus, assertum contra M. Simonem Episcopium, aliosque. 3. Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio Dogmatis in Ecclesia Catholica recepti, de Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri Divinitate, asserta, atque evidenter demonstrata contra Davidem Zwickerum, Borussum, ejusque nuperos in Anglia Sectatores.

especially whoever has himself read the writings of those ancient fathers, or any considerable portion of them, must be prepared to admit the correctness of what we stated in the former part of this article. Even Petavius and Bull, those profound investigators of ecclesiastical antiquity, though they differ widely from each other in some of their representations, yet, it is well known, agree in maintaining that a theory of subordination, with correspondent modes of expression, was very prevalent before the Arian controversy, and of course in the latter part of the third century, the time which the author of the Prize Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions mentions as the time when the first seven books of them were written. Hence, as we have been endeavoring to show, these Constitutions, though containing expressions which would not have been chosen by an orthodox writer after that controversy, and especially after the adoption of the perfected form of the Athanasian Creed, might not originally have been intended to promote heterodoxy. In respect to this, they might easily have seemed to be unobjectionable. And the confident tone of denunciation which they assume towards all heretics, is a strong indication that the writer was not conscious of inculcating what would be deemed heresy.

Besides, Epiphanius, in his work against Heresies, written about A. D. 380, speaks of the Constitutions then extant as being orthodox, and containing "every canonical arrangement, and no adulteration of the faith, or of the profession, or of the ecclesiastical administration." But after that time the Constitutions seem to have been altered here and there, and enlarged, by an Arian hand. And, at length, they were condemned by the Trullan Council, A. D. 692, as having been *long ago corrupted*,—not as having been written originally with the design of propagating unsound doctrine. But if such a charge as this latter could have been sustained, would it not *then* have been brought forward?

The general aspect and texture of the original work, written as it was in an age when there prevailed a theory of subordination that might easily slide into Arianism, would naturally encourage an enterprising Arian or semi-Arian to prepare a new and improved edition. Though the doctrinal interpolations in the first seven books might have been very few, yet a very few would, in the circumstances, have been sufficient to furnish an occasion for casting aside a work whose good influence seemed to be no longer needed, and whose bad influence it seemed desirable to counteract. Zealously orthodox men who had long been accustomed to the perfected

form of the Athanasian Creed, in which all traces of the theory of subordination had disappeared, could hardly fail to deprecate the influence of a work which now bore the impress of Arianism, and which, if not authoritatively rejected by them, would be likely to be regarded by many as having the sanction of the apostles.

Happily our situation is different, and we can use the work for historical and archæological purposes, without being led by it into heresy: for we know that it was a forgery in the outset; and that, from its history and from the nature of the case, it can have no authority to teach us articles of faith. Here what safeguard, more complete or more strong, can be needed?

The forgery is detected; and one of its leading objects, the giving of apostolic sanction to the claims of the hierarchy, is too obvious to be concealed. We have purposely abstained from bringing forward the considerations which the author of the Prize Essay respecting the Constitutions has presented in his clear and convincing chapter on their Plan and Object. We would specially commend to our readers an attentive perusal of that chapter. Our remarks we wish to have regarded as only an occasional addition to the full and regular discussion which may there be found.

Perhaps one of the best ways of diminishing some of the differences of opinion among good and learned men, would be to increase their personal acquaintance with the documents which have come down to us from the early ages of the church. Certainly it would tend to increase their sympathetic interest in the Christians of those ages, and their gratitude to God for the Holy Scriptures. *The Word of the Lord endureth for ever.*

Would that churches and individuals were reverently listening to his voice, and to the admonitions which sound forth from the history of those who have gone before us! "In such a world as this," it has well been said by an able reviewer of the Constitutions,* "nothing short of experience can restrain or recover the church from human inventions, and bring her to the stable practice of Christ's directions. Happy for us then, (if we will only profit by the result,) that so much of this experimenting is already done. But in order that we may profit by it, the history of every experiment should be preserved and carefully studied; if not, then all has been suffered in vain, and must be suffered over again. We must know not only the general result, but also the causes and the pro-

* In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and *Theological Review*, for May, 1848.

cess; in short, the beginning and the middle and the end. Then, and then only, shall we be prepared for a thorough reform; and then only, if already reformed, shall we be effectually guarded from all approaches to the like folly. It is in view of facts and principles like these, that we may venture to assign so high a rank in present and prospective usefulness, to a work once so pernicious as the stupendous forgery now before us. Though not the prime cause of Popery,—for that is to be found in the depths of human nature,—it was among the earliest and most effective agencies in the organization of all the spiritual despotisms that have existed in the church. And now, like an arch-culprit in chains on the gibbet, it hangs an everlasting memento to the whole world.”

But let us not forget that it was a *pious* fraud of which the culprit was guilty. In one point of view, there is in this fact an enormous aggravation of the offense; and in another, there are mitigating circumstances. It becomes us to be discriminating and candid in the sentence of condemnation which we must pronounce; and it will be well if we of modern times, after all that has occurred, are never betrayed into the act of snatching the sceptre from the hand of our Lord, or into the use of unchristian means for the attainment of an object which we may deem desirable, and *for the greater glory of God.*

ART. III.—SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte.* Von L. STEIN, Professor in Kiel. Leipzig. 1848.
Socialism and Communism in France of the present day. A Contribution to the History of the Times. By L. STEIN, Professor in Kiel. Leipsic. 1848. Second revised and enlarged edition. In two volumes, with an Appendix. Pp. 592, 251.
2. *Petites Traités Publiés par l'Académie des Sciences, Morales et Politiques.* Paris. 1848, 1849.
Small Tracts, published by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. Fourteen Numbers.
3. *Moralism and Christianity; or Man's Experience and Destiny.* In three Lectures. By HENRY JAMES. New-York. 1850. Pp. 184.
4. *Hints Toward Reforms.* By HORACE GREELEY. New-York. 1850. Pp. 400.

It is becoming every day more obvious, that Socialism is not merely a caprice of the theorist or a passion of the

revolutionist, and that it presents grave practical questions which claim the regard of earnest thinkers in all lands. In France the Socialist movement did not begin, as some seem to suppose, with the insurrection of workmen who overturned the French throne in the February of 1848, nor did it end under the bayonets of Cavaignac in the following June. It sprang from causes that have been at work for nearly a century; and now that, as we hope, its destructive agitations have ceased, its serious problems are committed to the most careful and conservative minds. In England, the word no longer stands identified with the communism of Owen and the atheism of Wright, but is used by political economists and even by Churchmen to designate the most sober measures for the improvement of the condition of the poor, the better ordering of their dwellings and their labor. In our own country, candid men have ceased making merry at the follies of social reformers, and are ready to confess that behind the most extravagant reform movements there is truth enough to justify their origin and demand the most serious thought. The questions that agitate our nation most deeply are connected with the relation between labor and capital. Slavery, protective duties, the currency, these are the staples of political discussion; whilst in some quarters even these engrossing topics are made to yield to others, and in great conventions and village coteries the rights of labor and the need of land reform are discussed more vehemently than our national politics.

We do not feel obliged to give an exact definition of Socialism. It would not be easy to define a thing so vague and general—comprehending the wildest follies and also the gravest social science of our time. It is enough for us to indicate the generic principle to which all its various tendencies may be traced. Regarded as a practical movement, Socialism is the effort to secure to labor its due share of the goods which it produces, and to bring the laborer into juster relations with the capitalist. Regarded as a science, Socialism is the philosophy of the right adjustment of labor and capital, and however far it may go into the regions of theology or metaphysics, it always comes back to this point as the practical issue.

Professor Stein's definition is more specific than this, and represents Socialism as being "the systematic science of the equality to be realized by the supremacy of labor in property, the state, and society." Our present purpose does not require us to enter into any nice scientific distinctions, for we aim only to lay before our readers in a very general way the socialist tendencies at work in our own country. We cannot of course

do this without some reference to movements in Europe, and have therefore placed at the head of this article the books that have seemed to us most suggestive or important regarding the European and American field. Professor Stein, in volumes whose careful research is fitly honored by their rare typographical beauty, aims rather to be the historian than the philosopher of Socialism. He describes its origin in the very nature of society, and its developments in France, the country destined to exhibit its workings alike for the instruction and the warning of other nations. He presents without reserve the frightful discords in modern society, agrees with the Socialists in the importance which they attach to the issue between labor and capital, whilst he criticises them without mercy, and finds in none of their nostrums a remedy for the disease to be healed. He is too wary to presume to legislate for society, and from his position as a philosophic monarchist, he seems to wait for time and Providence to develop the measures that baffle human invention. In a better harmonizing of human labors and interests he has full faith, and his work, so full of acuteness and caution, is not without generous hope and incentive. His first volume is given to the general philosophy of the subject, and describes the various developments of the idea of equality in the history of France. The second volume treats in detail of the Socialist leaders, St. Simon and Fourier,—characterizes the various social tendencies, the *religious* in De la Mennais, the *abstract* in Leroux, the *critical* in Proudhon, and the *publicist* in Louis Blanc,—then treats of Communism and its leaders, and ends with appendices, the last of which contains the bibliography of Socialist literature in some fifteen double columns. A brochure of 250 pages, printed as an appendix to the whole work, deserves to be called a separate volume, and carries the history of opinions and movements in France through all the agitations of 1848. As a manual of reference upon the whole subject, this work seems to be the most full and scholarly that has been published.

The Tracts published by the French Academy are just what might be expected from their authors, such men as Thiers, Cousin, Mignet, Dupin, Blanqui, &c., writing under the influence of the reaction following the last Revolution in France. They are full of valuable information, especially in regard to the history of labor and property, pervaded by the peculiar philosophy of their school, utterly hostile to the new Socialism, and disposed to rest in the ideas of 1789 and 1830, or of the first Revolution and the third. They give

many important facts as to the practical working of industrial associations, and might be translated to the profit of the more extravagant Associationists in this country. Their publication will not be useless to the French, if it be merely for the sake of the excellent *Life of Franklin*, whom Mignet sets before the countrymen of Rousseau as the true type of the workman who would raise himself and companions from ignorance and want. Of the American publications named above, we will speak in the appropriate place.

It is obvious that America would not for many years have been troubled by Socialist agitation, had we been left to the working of our own institutions, apart from the influence of foreigners. But our connection with the Old World is now so close, that we must in some measure share all its tendencies, and burden our young national life with the weight of European decrepitude. Our task is thus not merely the prevention, but the removal of dangerous social inequalities. Our cities are fast filling up with the proletaries of the Old World, and by their growing number and the competition between them and our own workmen, we find ourselves heirs to the relics of European feudalism, and before our time grieved by the wants of a class of people which in the last century hardly existed in our land, the class of laborers without any capital. Their pedigree under the feudal system it is not difficult to trace. We can very readily see, that the developments of modern society have given them at once a new freedom and a new servitude, removing the old political bondage and establishing in its place a closer dependence upon capital. The French *ouvrier* found himself at once visited by the vote distributor and by starvation. The English operative learned almost at the same time from Adam Smith that labor is the source of all wealth, and from his employers that the laborer cannot have wages constant and large enough to live upon. The introduction of machinery and the consequent minute division of labor, in connection with the want of sufficient industrial and general education, have tended to swell the multitude of men dependent upon simple labor, and reduce vast numbers, once able to carry on a tolerable business by themselves, into mere operatives depending upon the owners of machinery. It is an indisputable fact, as Sismondi with others has so emphatically developed, that in Europe, the tendency is constantly to depress and diminish the middle class, and divide society into the extremes of the rich and poor. In property the attraction is in the ratio of the mass, and the large fortunes are absorbing more of the land and other capi-

tal, and exhibiting the contrast of Dives and Lazarus upon an ever increasing scale.

Such extremes do not exist in this country, nor are they likely to appear so long as our system of popular education, laws of inheritance, and free industry remain. In fact, they can never exist here without the utter wreck of our government, for no force at the command of the magistracy could sustain the laws and protect property when the wretched become a large minority, not to say majority. American Socialists affirm very strongly that the tide is setting with us as in Europe, and the small properties are fast being swallowed up by the great fortunes. We are by no means ready to believe in any such fatal doom to our great middle class. However the case may be in the great cities, it is more than probable that in the nation the number of landholders is every year increasing, and that immigration, which so swells the ranks of the poor in our cities, is adding greatly to the number of land-owners in the country at large. Their number has been estimated as high as four fifths of all the voters of the nation, and there can be no doubt that it exceeds considerably one half that amount.

It is not then the prevalence of poverty or the prospect of any speedy civil commotions that has given socialist questions such interest in this country. But other causes in a measure peculiar to our condition have prompted the discussion. The very fact that we have a new country, not cursed by centuries of feudal oppression, encourages generous minds to consider what must be done to shun the miseries that have sprung from the European system, and which may under new forms appear among us. Among ardent speculative thinkers there has always been something of that disposition to shape out a new future in America which led Southey and Coleridge in their enthusiastic days to look westward for their Utopia, and plan their Pantisocracy on the Susquehanna banks. In our people at large, even among those in comfortable circumstances, there is a singular sensitiveness to social distinctions, which makes them impatient under inferiority, and shows itself in much of the reform spirit of our country. The fact, moreover, that every man has here a vote, gives a certain practical importance to the discussion of leading questions, and prompts classes of persons to consider our social and political system who might otherwise plod on in the beaten path as if precedent were fate. The large number who go from our free schools into the mechanical trades are giving a peculiar character to the discussions of American workmen,

and enlisting no small share of knowledge and talent in defense of the rights and interests of labor. In fine, whatever occupies any considerable portion of the people soon finds its way into the political arena, and the time is not far distant, if it has not already come, when socialist questions enter into party politics.

It is not much more than ten years since Socialism, in the full sense of the word, was presented to the people of this country. Before that time indeed Owen and Frances Wright had tried to plant their follies on our shores, and had refuted themselves by provoking the common sense and common religion of our nation. In some measure perhaps under their influence a workingmen's party was formed, which claimed for manual labor the honor of producing all wealth and the right to rule the land. We remember well how adroitly and efficiently the presumption of this party was rebuked by Edward Everett, in his noted lecture to workingmen on the harmony of all labor and the power of the sciences in the practical arts. Never was a bird of prey more keenly pierced by a shaft winged from its own feathers, than was this preposterous faction by this accomplished orator. Since that time it has not been common to disparage intellectual labor, and the movements among the American workmen now openly recognize the value of all work, whether of head or hand.

The Socialism of France, especially of the school of Fourier, was introduced to American readers, we believe, for the first time by Mr. Albert Brisbane, and afterwards expounded in the *Harbinger*, an able weekly journal conducted by members of the Brook Farm Association at West Roxbury. For some years these writers set forth the principles of Fourier as the only cure for existing social evils, and various attempts were made to give a practical illustration and proof of the system. These attempts were, we believe, uniformly unsuccessful, both from the inadequate means employed, as their authors say, and also, as we think, from the visionary nature of the plan. Yet it would be unfair not to allow that even these failures developed new and encouraging aspects of social life; glimpses of a better co-operative order, hints of truer relations of man to nature, as well as presumptuous dreams and mortifying disappointments. We know enough surely of the Brook Farm Association to honor the energy and self-sacrifice of its leaders, and to ascribe its financial failure quite as much to the inefficiency of their avowed supporters as to the visionary nature of their plan. Why they should be as-

sailed by a storm of indignation for the attempt to establish a joint stock association, which should combine education with agriculture and the useful arts, we were puzzled to understand. The result of the enterprise might perhaps have been very different, had it been confined to the original plan, and not identified with the doctrines of Fourier, as it afterwards was to a great extent in its avowed organ, and wholly so in the view of the public.

The result of the experiments in the Old World and with us, in connection with a better knowledge of Fourier's system, has made the more sober Socialists wary of being confounded with him. There are probably a much less number of Fourierites in this country now than three years ago. The Frenchman's pantheism is utterly offensive to our practical views of religion, and his doctrine of passional attraction wholly at war with our ideas of moral agency and individual responsibility. In the work of Mr. James, indeed, we have an able exhibition of Fourierism in its most paradoxical and repugnant features. Not content with presenting the advantages of co-operative labor in bettering the circumstances and favoring the mental and moral culture of man, Mr. James claims everything for the associative system, and denies the very possibility of religion except as the result of a true external social order, and the possibility of irreligion except as the result of external social disorder. Human will as a determining power is thus nothing, and man becomes a god at once, as soon as circumstances are so arranged that the divine life can flow into him, like the waters of a sacred river into a well adjusted series of conduits. The old-fashioned virtue of self-denial is laid utterly on the shelf as an antiquated folly, and the fact that a man breaks human and divine laws to satisfy his passions only proves that society is out of joint and does not provide the transgressor with what he desires. Give every man what he wants, says virtually this new Antinomian, and there will be no trouble. Let the passions have their way, and they will take the course marked out for them by the Creator; no longer burning with unhallowed fires, they will glow with healthy warmth and be ministers of the divine life. The plain inference actually made in set terms by Mr. James is, that crime is misfortune only, and that society, instead of punishing the thief or murderer, ought to beg pardon of him for obliging him to resort to such inconvenient methods of satisfying his desires. Only give him what he wants, and he will not break into houses or waylay travellers. Such doctrines, we need not say, find few open advocates, and we trust few

followers, in this country. They have been very ably refuted by the more Christian portion of American Socialists, and it would not be fair to exhibit them as the creed of the party. They have been treated very fully by William Henry Channing, and shown to be entirely inconsistent with the first truths of religion and the essential principles of social order. They have been uniformly opposed by Mr. Greeley, and by the general policy of the powerful journal conducted by him. We say here, what we have said before, that we have never read a more pernicious book than that called "Moralism and Christianity." Its well chosen language and alleged spirituality of purpose are more dangerous than open licentiousness, for they preach the law of self-indulgence in the attractive garb of a sublimated spiritual philosophy. The author indeed is far from favoring what are called vicious indulgences, and expressly condemns them as hurtful. But not one word does he say to fix upon the transgressor's conscience the sense of guilt, or to quicken his sense of personal responsibility. In fact, Epicurus himself is a stoic, nay, an ascetic, in comparison with this apostle of the passions and pleasures. Very differently would the lives of the saints and sages of our race have been passed and written, if at the parting of the ways they had listened to such a counsellor instead of HIM who glorified self-denial by his cross.

Professor Stein thought, two years ago, that speculative Socialism had gone through all its phases in Europe, and that for some time nothing had been contributed to its stores. The chief interest of the subject he expects to find in the attempts to carry out its principles. In this country, now, there seems to be less regard for the abstract philosophy of the Socialists, and an increasing disposition to insist upon certain practical measures that are deemed essential for the protection of labor. The most ambitious theorists appear inclined to fall in with this practical tendency, and we believe that the only surviving organ of the philosophical party expired last winter. Horace Greeley may be regarded as practically the head of American Socialists, and his volume of Essays, in connection with *The Tribune*, represents the present aspect of the movement.

Of Mr. Greeley we cannot speak in any terms but of respect. Occupying a position which identifies him as a politician with the wealth and conservatism of the country, he has said more plain and unwelcome truths in the face of this party than any radical reformer in the country. Editor of a newspaper probably on the whole more widely read and influential than

any other, he has made it from the beginning the organ of the interests of the great working class. Some opponents indeed accuse him of such perfect cunning as to balance one set of opinions by another, and to aim to curry favor with capitalists by his Tariff doctrines sufficiently to atone in their view for his Socialism. We can only say, from a pretty long acquaintance with his course, and for some time a daily perusal of his paper, that we must regard him as an independent and consistent friend of the industrial classes, and that we are all indebted to him for knowledge of the condition of the laboring class, and for suggestions towards practical reforms that must tell upon the future of our nation. It would be very easy to find fault with him, and begin an interminable catalogue of extravagances out of the products of his prolific pen. This task, however, has been so zealously performed by his rivals in the editorial line, that no further attempt is necessary. The volume bearing his name, "*Hints toward Reforms*," gives a fair idea of the result of his socialist studies, and of the present aspect of the movement in this country. The author, whilst accepting Fourier's cardinal principles of Associate Industry, carefully avoids identifying himself with his theological speculations and ethical laxities. We find little in the reform measures recommended in this volume which can offend any Christian creed, or which might not find acceptance with classes of thinkers of every denomination. It is very certain that the paper against capital punishment would be more apt to excite theological opposition than any of the schemes proposed for the emancipation of labor. Christianity is presented throughout as the standard of character, and if it is here regarded rather as a spirit of general humanity than as a peculiar faith and piety based upon a special revelation of the Divine will, Christians of the most evangelical stamp will not deny that the prevalent forms of worldliness are often rebuked with a severity that would not shame the sternest moralist of the pulpit. We indeed look in vain through these pages for those pungent views of Christian truth and human perversity that are vital to personal regeneration, but it should in justice be remembered that most of the topics bear upon the external evils of society, and that many of the gravest theologians, many clerical economists, have treated such social concerns with far less Christian elevation of sentiment than the author.

We will speak now of the three leading branches of social reform in respect to Labor, Land, and Capital. We begin with Labor Reform. We are not able to give full statistics of

the number, classes, and condition of American laborers. It is much to be desired that the next census should provide such information, and thus be the basis for an industrial history of our time. The facts that are most accurately known have been gathered in our principal cities, and do not furnish sufficient data for an accurate estimate of the condition of labor. We have no doubt that many exaggerated statements of the hard lot of our mechanics have been made, and that the better class of them have little to complain of in view of the comparative gains of the mass of merchants and professional men. Yet, taking American workmen as they exist in our cities on the whole, we cannot but regard them as sadly stunted. If we take for our standard the definition of just wages, based upon the cost of labor, as given by Dr. Wayland, it is obvious that this standard is by no means reached, and that the common price of labor is little adequate to provide for the necessities of life, the support of children, and the demands of old age. Without multiplying illustrations, we merely quote from Mr. Greeley's Address to the Printers of New-York. There is no good ground for doubting the truth of these words:—

It is now some four centuries since the discovery or invention of our Art, fully three since our continent began to be the home of civilized men, and more than two since the Pilgrim fugitives first landed on Plymouth Rock. Since that landing, and even within the last century, what amazing strides have been made in the diffusion of Knowledge and the perfection of the implements and processes of Industry—in the efficiency of Human Labor and the facilitation of intercourse between country and country, clime and clime! The steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, the power-loom; the canal, steam-ship, power-press, railroad and lightning telegraph—these, in their present perfection and efficiency, are a few of the trophies of human genius and labor within even the last century.

But while Labor has thus doubled and quadrupled its own efficacy in the production of whatever is needful to the physical sustenance, intellectual improvement and social enjoyment of Man, I do not find that there has been a corresponding melioration in the condition of the Laborer. That there has been some improvement I do not deny; but has it been at all commensurate with the general progress of our race in whatever pertains to physical convenience or comfort? I think not; and I could not help pondering this matter even while our orator's silvery tones were delighting our ears with poetical descriptions of the wonders which Science and Invention have achieved and are achieving. I could not help considering that, while Labor builds far more sumptuous mansions in our day than of old, furnishing them far more gorgeously and luxuriously, the laborer who builds those mansions lives oftenest in a squalid lodging, than which the builders of palaces in the fifteenth century can hardly have dwelt in more wretched; and that while the demands for labor, the uses of labor, the efficiency of labor, are multiplied and extended on every side by the rush of invention and the growth of luxury around us, yet in this middle of the Nineteenth Century (call it the last year of the first half or

the first year of the last half as you please) Labor is a drug in the market—that the temperate, efficient, upright worker often finds the comfortable maintenance and proper education of his children beyond his ability—and that, in this thriving Commercial Emporium of the New World, this trophy and pride of Christian Civilization, there are at this day not less than Forty Thousand human beings anxious to earn the bread of honest industry, but vainly seeking, and painfully, despairingly awaiting opportunity for so doing. This last is the feature of our condition which seems to me most important and commanding, and it is to this, on occasions like the present, and in listening to such orations as that which has just delighted us, that my thoughts are irresistibly turned. (Pp. 336, 337.)

In further proof of the wretchedness of the laboring class in great cities, it is only necessary to remember, that some of the necessities of life are often more costly than many of the luxuries, and that a healthy home in an airy and cleanly neighborhood is hardly to be attained by families who find no difficulty in procuring cheap and handsome clothing, and not a few of the little delicacies of the table.

The inadequacy of the wages of labor has probably never been more generally felt by American workmen than at present, in part apparently from the depression of business, and in part from the rise in rents. In nearly all our cities conventions of the various trades have been held, and scales of prices have been adopted. In no case have these scales seemed to us exorbitant, except in the folly of insisting upon one price for all kinds of ability—an error which must end in the depression of the less skilful workman whom it aims to elevate, since he will be very likely to go idle if he can be employed only at the same cost as an abler workman. We see no just objection to the assembling of laborers for the discussion of their peculiar interests, for they have the same rights as their employers, who are ready enough to have an understanding with each other in case of emergencies. But we have little confidence in their power to alter prices essentially by any direct action upon wages. The carpenter may vote to insist upon a dollar and three quarters a day, as the price to be demanded by all journeymen, under penalty of expulsion from the fellowship of the trade; yet it is obvious that if the state of business is not such as to induce employers to pay that price, the workmen must and will work for a less sum, even if they nominally negotiate for the regular rate. It is impossible to regulate price by opinion or legislation. It depends upon the ratio between demand and supply, and can be raised effectively only by increasing the demand or lessening the supply. In certain emergencies, where the depression of wages is rather a contingency than a necessity, something

may be done by combination on the part of workmen for fairer wages, but the effect must be very transient, and prices soon regulate themselves by their own inherent laws. If the members of any trade's union have funds enough to continue a strike long enough to bring employers to terms, and power enough to keep off competitors—two conditions rarely realized—a higher scale of prices may be fixed, but only for a season. Men wanting employment will be invariably found who will accept a less price, if necessary, secretly; and experience shows that no agreement, even among producers favored with the most ample means, can fix prices above a certain rate. We know an instance in which some half a dozen men, who were sole manufacturers of a certain important article, bound themselves not to sell it below a certain price; yet so much were they in fear of each other's competition that in the course of a few months each broke his engagement, and a single large firm in New-York was solicited by each of them in turn to take the article at ten per cent. discount, and yet charge the purchase on the books at the price agreed upon originally by the manufacturers. No writer has talked more plainly to workmen upon these subjects than Mr. Greeley, or told them more wholesome truths upon the philosophy of strikes and combinations.

His remedy for the evil of poor wages and uncertain employment looks more to the root of the matter. He would have laborers associate together for the sale of their own work, and the purchase or production of the means of living. Association is the charmed word that is to open a golden future. Undoubtedly the future progress of our race is wrapped up in the idea of association, and as it has been, so it will be, that society becomes perfect in proportion to the prevalence of co-operation over warfare. What are our most familiar social blessings, our streets, public buildings, our towns, laws, churches, but results of associate action, and who will undertake to limit the progress of this principle? It is to be remembered, however, that something more than mere juxtaposition is necessary to produce co-operation, and nothing is more discordant than the arbitrary mingling of inharmonious materials. It is quite as necessary that men should be well trained in order to co-operate, as it is that they should co-operate in order to be well trained. It is a very difficult thing to harmonize various tempers into unity, or to make a considerable number of persons associate intimately together for a voyage, or even for a single day, without discord. The law of repulsion is obvious as that of attraction, and on earth,

as in the heavens, there is order in distances as in vicinities. How much association men will now bear is among the problems that have been solved far less enthusiastically by experience than by theory. Among associations of workmen those seem to succeed best which are confined to some specific thing instead of being extended to the complex interests of business and life. Men can associate successfully for benevolent purposes, and by due care of their common funds may guarantee each other a certain aid in case of sickness or other misfortune. They may associate also in the purchase of commodities, and by agreeing to pay cash to a Protective Union under their supervision, they may, if they are wary, gain much by substituting wholesale for retail prices, and avoiding the necessity of paying their part of the bad debts assessed upon the customers of those retailers who give credit. Yet, in all these associate efforts, it must be remembered that there is still risk of fraud in respect to the character of the agents employed, of loss on account of the investments or purchases made, and that great care and shrewdness are necessary to conduct such enterprises successfully.

We will quote Mr. Greeley's own sketch of the proper application of the associative principle. Readers will at once allow that, however sanguine or visionary it may be, the plan here presented does not attack any moral principle of society, or infringe upon individual property or family union :—

Let me rudely sketch you a village, township, school district, or whatever you may term it, organized as we would have it, and as we hope many ultimately will be. The basis is a faith among the associates or members that they can live harmoniously with and deal justly by each other, treating any casual imperfections which may be developed with forbearance and kindness. One hundred families, animated by this spirit, resolve to make an attempt toward a more trustful and genial life, and to that end sell off as they can their immovable possessions and resolve to seek a new home together; we will say in Michigan or Wisconsin. They send out two or three chosen leaders, who, after careful examination, select and purchase a tract of one to five thousand acres, as their means will warrant, embracing the largest circle of advantages—Timber, Prairie, Water-Power, convenience for Transportation, &c. &c. They have carefully foreseen that proper building-materials, including brick or stone, lime and timber, are to be obtained with facility. Mills are erected and various branches of manufacturing established as fast as they are needed, or as there is any labor which can be spared for and advantageously employed therein. New members who bid fair to be desirable accessions are received, on due probation, as fast as there may be accommodations for them, and as they can be profitably employed. If a blacksmith, a carpenter, a brickmaker, or glazier, is wanted, he is obtained by hiring until, among the wide circle of friends or acquaintances of the members, one is found who would like to unite his fortunes with the Phalanx, and who is deemed a worthy associate. Thus they go on, producing abundant

food and other raw staples, steadily extending the bounds of their cultivated area, and increasing its product; enjoying at least the necessities of life, and doing without the superfluities until they are enabled to obtain them without running in debt. Soon an edifice, intended for the permanent home of them all, is commenced and finished piecemeal in the most substantial manner—fireproof so nearly that fire could not spread from one section to another, and so planned that the whole may be warmed, lighted, supplied with water, and cleared of refuse by arrangements answering as well for a thousand persons as for one. Three or four large and spacious kitchens, barns, granaries, &c. &c., supplied with every convenience, would answer the purpose of three or four hundred under our present economy, saving vast amounts now lost by waste, vermin, the elements, &c. &c. A tenth part of the labor now required for household service, procuring fuel, &c., would suffice, while that now consumed in journeys to the mill, the store, the blacksmith, the shoemaker, and the like, would be saved entirely. There would be abundant employment in the various branches of Industry pursued for all ages, capacities, tastes, and all that would be saved in the kitchen and the woods could be advantageously and agreeably employed in the gardens and nurseries, the mills and factories. The productive force of this population would be vastly greater than under existing arrangements, while its economies in other respects would be immense. For a brief season, admit that these advantages would be counterbalanced by inexperience and perverseness—that some would refuse to work where they were needed, and insist on working where they would be comparatively inefficient, or nowhere—that bickerings and jealousies would arise, and that some would feel that their work was not adequately credited and remunerated—I foresee all these difficulties, and more. Yet I see also, the *end* being kept steadily in view—that of having no unproductive labor or as little as possible, rewarding all work done according to its absolute worth, and charging each head of a family the simple cost of what he had—the rent of his exclusive rooms and the actual outlay for the subsistence and education of his family—in short, establishing Social Justice throughout—there would be a constant tendency and approximation toward the state of things desired and the harmony which must result from it. The defects of one year would suggest the remedies of the next, and each year's adjustment of accounts would be more satisfactory than the last. (Pp. 42, 43, 44.)

Of the more complex forms of association thus described, such as the union of large numbers of men in business without the intervention of an employer, or the combination of various trades on the Phalansterian plan, we are not able to speak from any adequate experience. We have been attentive observers of the various attempts to establish such associations, and are compelled to agree with Villermé, the author of the tenth tract in the French series treating of workmen's associations, that their prospect of failure is in proportion to their complexity, or to the length of time and variety of purposes for which they combine. We rejoice in the cases that present themselves in this country in which workmen have successfully established a joint-stock business, and managed their own affairs, and had the full profits of their industry. Such cases, however, are very rare, and we believe that

almost any set of journeymen mechanics, if burdened with the personal care of a large establishment, and liable to be impoverished by its losses, as well as to gain by its profits, would be much relieved by resigning their charge to some competent superintendent, and either paying him a large price for his services or yielding to him the whole risk of profit and loss in return for a *certainty of fair wages*. It is very difficult for us to understand in what way sufficient unity and subordination may be secured in large associations, free from authoritative control, and without any strong religious discipline, such as rules the Shaker communities, to enforce the order which is maintained usually, in society, by military or civil force. A far more thorough education must be united with labor before the associative principle can be much further carried out. We shall always regard with favor the progress of such industrial training, and welcome every judicious attempt to organize labor. We believe that the common soldiers in the armies of industry, as in the ranks of war, will have life and power in proportion to their joint interest in the issue; even as the free soldiers of Cromwell, each man of them in his own faith bound to the "good old cause," felt that their captain's cause was their own, and the sentiment of individual responsibility made heroes of plain peasants, and routed the best trained chivalry of the crown.

Merely observing that what Mr. Greeley says of the Ten Hour System, its reasonableness and the just limit of its influence, seems wholly just, we pass on to speak of the second branch of social reform so intimately connected with labor,—we mean Land Reform.

There are probably few candid persons who do not feel more troubled by the unequal distribution of land than of any other kind of property. It is the gift of God to man, and in no sense the result of human action. It is the property of the human race, and should be held in trust by civil law, so as best to subserve the Divine bounty and the welfare of mankind. This principle at once rebukes Communism, and favors a just distribution of the soil among its inhabitants. Communism is a curse to the land, for no man will till where he is not sure of reaping, and there can be no just human liberty where the cultivator can have no hold upon the soil enriched by his own industry and skill. That is the best government which at once secures landed property, and favors its just distribution among its citizens. The abolition of laws of entail and primogeniture has freed our country from the land monopoly so general in Europe, and made the great majority of our

citizens owners of land. Yet the state of things even with us is not all that might be desired, and there is reason to fear that vast tracts of our national soil are offered to the grasp of greedy speculators to the great injury of actual settlers.

Land reform has become now more a political than a moral question, and has made its way into Congress, and the Legislatures of the States. A man like Gerritt Smith, who denies the moral right of the rich to monopolize the soil, and shows his sincerity by giving away hundreds of farm lots to the landless, advocates the political movement, and joins with the large and apparently increasing party who are striving for the passage of laws decreeing the reform in its three branches:—Freedom of the Public Domain—Land Limitation—and Homestead Exemption.

The bill in Congress, in favor of the first of these measures, was proposed by no less a statesman than Daniel Webster, during the present session. To give a moderate portion of the national domain to each citizen who will become an actual settler, cannot certainly be called a destructive measure, for his settlement on the soil must impart to the nation more than it gives, and nothing can promote the true prosperity and stability of the country more than the increase in the number of industrious proprietors. In our view, however, it is not so important that the land should be absolutely given away, as that it should be rescued from the grasp of the class of speculators who forestall the settler, and lay their hand upon the most valuable districts. In illustration of our meaning, we quote Mr. Greeley's words from the Lecture on the Emancipation of Labor:—

Few have any idea of the extent to which Labor is now obstructed by Land Monopoly. The starving poor of Great Britain and Ireland might be abundantly employed and subsisted on the rich soil now uselessly, ostentatiously devoted to immense Parks, Forests, and Game-Preserves. I was, in 1845, discussing with an eminent Western Statesman the effects of Protection and Manufacturing on the welfare of the country, when he casually observed that he owned twelve hundred acres of the finest river bottom land in Ohio, richly worth fifty dollars per acre, yet which he could find nobody to purchase and improve because the floating capital of the country was all attracted to and locked up in Eastern factories. It seemed to me, and I could not help telling him, that the obstacle and the wrong in the case was his attempting to exact fifty dollars per acre for land to which nothing had been done except possibly to divest it of some of its most valuable timber since it was purchased of the Nation for a dollar and a quarter per acre. Yet the Great West is covered with such reservations, to the serious obstruction of settlements and detriment of settlers. One or two such may deprive a school district of any fit school for twenty years; three or four will keep a township destitute of the preaching of the gospel, miserably provided with roads and bridges,

scantily supplied with mechanics and artisans. Such a reservation is by no means a mere blank—it is a positive blight and discouragement. It has usually been selected as soon as the lands of that district were offered for sale, and comprises some of the very best in its vicinity. Often two long prairies, each twenty or thirty miles wide, are separated by a small river or mill-stream with a fringe of timber half a mile wide. Speculation early fastens its grasp upon this belt of timber, including all the water-power, fencing and fuel of one or more counties. Soon settlers begin to arrive, and find good prairie abundant and likely to remain so at the Government price, ten York shillings per acre. But this is utterly unavailable, uninhabitable, without timber and water, which can only be had by paying the speculators their ten to twenty dollars per acre, with a thousand or two dollars for a mill-site, which must ultimately be had at whatever price. There are other sections wherein Speculation kindly disposes of the land to settlers who have no money, only asking a liberal share of the first four or five crops in payment. Millions of acres are now occupied by the pre-emption claimants, under articles binding the speculators who have bid them off at the Government sales to convey them to the occupants upon the payment of the principal cost with twenty-five to fifty per cent. interest. It is a moderate estimate that every dollar put into the Treasury by public land-sales has taken three to four dollars from the pockets of the actual settler and cultivator. (Pp. 24, 25.)

It is the duty of the Government to regard the soil within its possession as entirely different from other species of property, and to hold it for the best good of the nation until the whole domain shall be settled. So far as the territory now unoccupied is concerned, there can be no injustice in the principle of land limitation, and nothing can be more inconsistent than to make over to speculators whole townships, and even counties of land that should be reserved sacredly for the best good of actual settlers. It is a very simple matter for the Government to say how much land it will sell to one person, and such a regulation, if properly adjusted, would be a different thing from undertaking to set a limit to landed property in regions already occupied; and to interfere with soil laboriously acquired or legally inherited, is establishing a principle very doubtful and dangerous.

Mr. Greeley's doctrine of land limitation is comparatively moderate, and simply would require the sale of all land over 320 acres held by one person, at the time of the owner's death. But *Young America*—the "Vote Yourself a Farm" organ—goes much further; includes houses and lands within its Procrustes process, and leads us to anticipate, should its plan be followed, a virtual war on property, and an actual discouragement of industry, as the result of the course thus begun. We quote, from the *Tribune*, the form of a bill which is recommended to the State of New-Hampshire:—

Young America (of Keyport, N. J.) gives the form of a bill which the press and people of New-Hampshire and elsewhere would do well to discuss. It is as follows :

LAND LIMITATION AND HOMESTEAD EXEMPTION.

AN ACT to abolish and prevent Land Monopoly, and to secure Homesteads to all the people in the State of —.

In consideration of the oppressed and sinking condition of the landless people in many parts of our country, of the present unnatural and almost unprecedented misery of Ireland, and of the downfall of former Republics, all to be traced to Land Monopoly, and having in mind the principles of the Declaration of Independence, upon which this Government was founded—

The People of the State of —, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows :

SECTION 1. After the Fourth of July, 1850, no individual shall become possessor of more than 160 acres of agricultural land, or, in lieu thereof, of more than two lots of one acre each, or of more than one dwelling-house and one building for trade or business, in this State, nor any portion of land whatever, except for the purpose of his or her actual use and residence as a citizen of the State.

SEC. 2. The heir or heirs of any landholders possessing more than he, she, or they would be entitled to hold in accordance with the preceding section, or their legal representatives, shall be allowed one year to dispose of the surplus, after choosing their portions in a compact form, to be sanctioned by officers to whom the necessary authority shall be delegated by the people at their annual town meetings. [An additional act or section would be necessary to provide that, in case of a neglect or refusal of heirs or their legal representatives so to dispose of surplus land, then the said town officers shall apportion Homesteads to the heirs, sell the surplus, and pay over the proceeds to the heirs or their guardians, and to direct the time and manner of sale.]

SEC. 3. From and after the passage of this act, the Homestead of every freeholder, to the extent of one hundred and sixty acres of farm land, or two city or village lots, not to exceed one acre each, nor to contain more than one dwelling house and one building for trade or business, shall not be mortgaged or sold for any debt thereafter contracted, or alienated for any other cause than a debt previously contracted, except by free consent of such freeholder at the time of sale, and of the wife as well as the husband where such relation may exist.

SEC. 4. Any will conveying more than one hundred and sixty acres of farm land to one individual, including what he or she may previously possess, or lots and houses exceeding the limits prescribed in the preceding sections, shall be invalid, and the possession shall be disposed of as provided by the intestate laws in accordance with the limitations prescribed by this act.

SEC. 5. Associations of families may hold land in common, for actual residence and subsistence, under a general act of incorporation, provided that they shall not hold, at any time, more than would be their share were the land equally divided in the State, nor in any case more than an average of fifty acres to each adult person in the Association.

This is the kind of Exemption the Industrials of our City advocate in their assemblies, and which is becoming so popular every day.

Now, all such measures aim to introduce a new and arbi-

trary policy in our government. The liberty to prescribe just the extent of real estate that one man may own, implies the right to take away property without an equivalent, since the forced sale of houses and lands thus decreed must result in a great loss. Every law like the above must be very unjust in its principle, and very liable to abuse in its execution, since it would allow a rich man to retain a large house, and force a comparatively poor man to part with one of two small cottages, and moreover lead to all manner of falsehood and chicanery in the alleged transfer of property. We have little idea that laws so interfering with individual liberty, and centralizing power in the State, will ever win favor from our nation. The Washingtonian and even the Jeffersonian school of statesmen would have regarded them as all of a piece with British tyranny—with the Tea Tax and the Stamp Act. The free spirit of Old America will be rather slow to learn of "Young America" such devices borrowed from Oriental despotisms. The farmers of New-Hampshire, from the very intensity of their democratic faith, will not soon deprive themselves of the liberty of owning a large farm, and of building when they choose, a house besides that which they occupy on their own land.

As to the principle of Homestead Exemption, it is certainly to some extent just. It is virtually acknowledged in all our laws that exempt a portion of property from attachment, and is in full form decreed by the Legislatures of seven or eight States. To secure property to the amount of \$500 for instance, as a homestead not to be attached by creditors, is surely no unwarrantable or extravagant act, and seems a valuable defense of families from the expensive litigations and cruel exactions often connected with the settlement of estates. It is quite otherwise, however, with the plan of "*Young America*," which interferes with the free course of business, and forbids the owner of real estate from using it at will in trade, and employing it as security in obtaining credit. Too much importance is claimed for the principle of Homestead Exemption, whatever be its form: for if property be made absolutely inalienable, the owner's freedom is gone; and if it be alienable by the owner's special consent, although not in the ordinary course of attachment for debt, the family can have no security against the improvidence, folly, or vice of the proprietor. We cannot by any legislation dispense with the old-fashioned virtues of fidelity and frugality. No home can be effectually protected but by the energy and kindness of its holders. In reference to this point, and the whole subject of land reform,

whilst we look not without hope for some decided improvements in this direction, we hope far more from free and judicious enterprise among the people than from any political action. We hear with pleasure of every movement in behalf of providing better dwellings for workmen, and for building industrial villages on cheap and healthy lands in the vicinity of cities, which are accessible on foot or by stage or railroad. Such is the exorbitant rate of rent in our large towns, that there are few men in moderate circumstances who do not often feel the need of such movements. We hazard nothing in saying that the majority of professional men are as much troubled by high rents and inadequate tenements as our mechanics.

We have no space left for discussing the principles of Socialism in reference to capital in general, especially financial reform. We have little ability to treat of the philosophy of credit and the currency. Two remarks may be very safely made as to the views of social reformers upon this point. Our countrymen have been made aware by many a costly experience that war upon capital is war upon labor, and the harm done to credit is more ruinous to the workman who cannot wait for employment, than to the capitalist who can wait for months or years for his gains. Capital is the true friend of labor, and its increase is in great part the measure of the increase of the demand for labor and its promise of reward. Every school-boy knows enough to see the folly of destructive radicalism, and could read a lecture on political economy to the Wat Tylers and Munster men of the old time and the new. The aim now is to devise some measures that recognize the worth of capital, and yet more effectually distribute its blessings. There are not a few men who seem to be rivalling the reputation of John Law, of South Sea memory, in their desire to make money plenty as water. The most prominent scheme set forth in this country is that of Mr. Kellogg, for the creation of a large amount of money by national enactment, and reducing the rate of interest to one per cent.,—a financial reform very much in the vein of that noted Boston eccentric, who made a fortune one morning before breakfast, by doubling the prices marked on his stock of goods. Money is too much of a reality, and based upon too stubborn laws, to be a figment of human will. Men must trust to something more than votes to create value and its representative. We hope for better relations between labor and capital, but look for them only in the train of measures that educate, elevate, and associate the hosts of labor, and enable them in their own

right to stand among capitalists, and have the advantage of the best financial institutions. Whilst speaking of financial reform, we will only say that the workmen of America ought to vote a leather medal to the sages of an assembly of persons self-styled the National Industrial Congress, who lately, from Chicago, published their decrees upon almost every subject in the world, and demanded, among other things, the abolition of all banking, and all laws for the collection of debt. These theorizing Jack Cades had better at their next meeting abolish all wholesale trade in wheat and wool as well as in money, and vote all law to be tyranny. We have read many of the reports of the conventions of practical mechanics, and have found no extravagances equal to those of the Chicago Congress.

We have now glanced at the main features of American Socialism, and seen what important principles are involved in its discussions. It is matter of congratulation that the excesses of French theorists have so few advocates among our people; that Communism like that of Cabet is as far from our popular creed as it was before its leader found a home at Nauvoo, in our West; and that some of the most prominent followers of Fourier profess to repudiate certain immoralities of his system, whilst they regard him as the most gifted expounder of the general laws of associate action. Strange man he was indeed,—a romancer in mathematical formulas,—dreaming of reducing the complex facts of society to abstract principles,—applying the rules of calculus to the caprices, the sympathies and antipathies of men, even as physicists do to the ebb and flow of tides,—nay, estimating the fancies and coquetties of women by a mathematical scale as positive as that which optical science applies to the shades of the prismatic spectrum. Every philosophy has its peculiar madness, and his was in the mathematical line. He was at any time ready to prove, by plain figures, that he could pay the national debt of England in six months by the product of hens' eggs, or that if a certain moderate sum of money were advanced him he would directly establish a Phalanstery that would solve for ever the problem of labor and capital, and strike a death-blow at pauperism, crime, and every form of misery. A strange man indeed, but not without his use. Of him, as of the Bacons and the Newtons, we may learn valuable truth, without endorsing his follies. The *Novum Organum* we may honor without believing in astrology; the *Principia* we may accept without endorsing the author's apocalyptic theories. The French analyst of social laws and institutions

is winning respect for many of his views from men who abhor his theology and laugh at his cosmogony.

In regard to the whole Socialist movement, we have no wish to play the part of the prophet or cherish the spirit of the cynic. For ages society has been in progress, and each age brings with it new adaptations and harmonies. The end is not yet. The office of the Christian moralist is at once conciliatory, hopeful, and wary. He should favor every movement that can remove prevalent discords and harmonize the various interests of mankind. He should be well acquainted with the lessons of history, and bring their hope and their warning to bear upon the thought and action of society. He should understand well how complex a thing our civilization is, how dearly purchased are our common blessings, and that the lot of man is to be estimated quite as much from what he has gained over barbarian rudeness as by what he dreams of gaining by realizing his ideal of perfection. He should appreciate the difference between social science and other sciences: for in the one the experiments may cost life and happiness, whilst in material science the experiments may be tried on the unconscious elements, or at best upon brute beasts. Very tenderly should reformers experiment upon the body politic or social, well knowing that sad though the disease may be now, it has been and may be far worse.

Above all, the Christian moralist is to insist upon the good old-fashioned doctrine of the vast power of principle in forming character, and of character in deciding destiny and shaping society. The Bible is and has always been the true basis of social reform, and men have been every way the strongest and most prosperous where its precepts have been best known and applied. No Socialist theories of themselves ever have produced or ever will produce a community equal to our best Christian villages,—where not a single individual is found who eats the bread of idleness or who will accept the pauper's pittance,—where stinted means are the spur to energy instead of the occasion of despondency,—where the home, the school, the church exercise their offices of mutual blessing, and the nation gathers from them tribute in a form more precious than that of flocks or gold.

The great future of American society rests with the youths who are now under training in our schools and colleges. With them lies the practical determination of the important questions between capital and labor that agitate public opinion. With them all should be hope and resolution. We must confess that such is by no means the case with mul-

titudes, especially in our great cities, who find themselves, with an imperfect education and improvident habits, burdened with large families and sadly stinted in means of living. For the youth who are every year leaving our public schools, the mechanical trades hold out encouraging inducements. Let them use every opportunity of carrying on their work of education, and learn to apply science to their various arts, and with energy and frugality they may secure positions on an average as promising as are opened in any business or profession. Let them, on the contrary, pass their first years idly or prodigally, and entail upon themselves the burdens of improvident marriage, and they will find themselves increasing the great multitude of those who live from hand to mouth, and whose lives are cursed from having each day burdened by the cares and debts of yesterday.

In this country education, without lowering its high classical and scientific standard, should ever become more practical. All the enterprising youth of the nation should in some measure share in the privileges of the improved industrial culture which are now dispensed in our best colleges and scientific schools. We honor industry in all its legitimate forms, and always feel like taking off our hat to every man who holds the implements of honest labor in his hand. Industry will have its true dignity, when better culture guides and elevates its votaries,—when the vast developments of science and achievements of art shall become the property of energetic and enlightened workmen, by virtue of their individual and associate enterprise.

More than we were prepared to believe, industrial interests are to govern the world. Merchants and manufacturers are the princes of our civilization, and can outbid the time-honored professions in their offers of emolument and sometimes of honor. The displays of mechanical skill and invention are eclipsing military parades and naval pageants. The great festival of our age is to be in honor of industry, and England invites the world, not to a tournament or the jubilee of a victory, or the anniversary of a Magna Charta, but to an exhibition of the perfection of her peaceful arts in friendly co-operation with the arts of all nations, freely welcomed to her shores. In this festival we rejoice, both for what it will be and what it will promise. The better ages of peaceful co-operation will come,—the ages when the beautiful and sublime inventions of art will be, as never before, bonds of friendly union and agencies of benignant power. The mighty engines already constructed are teachers of associate order,

and call men to combine judiciously and efficiently, that they may thus wield forces too vast and costly for the use of the isolated individual. There is power in ideas, but not much power until they arm themselves with appropriate weapons. Christianity needed the Greek language, the Roman roads, and in fine the printing press, to achieve its best triumphs. Liberty languished until printed books carried thought on every wind, and cannon balls levelled the pride of feudal lords. The sciences and arts developed within a century, are the appropriate armament of a peaceful humanity. Enough of true progress has already been made to give a character of sobriety to the most earnest hope. If in fifty years more a great industrial pageant is celebrated on our globe, we believe that our country will be the scene, and that the proofs of industry in agriculture, mechanics and manufactures, will surpass all the wonders that England now can gather; whilst the trophies of invention and energy will be also triumphs of humanity, cheering marks of the progress of our race in fraternal sentiment and co-operative order. Whatever developments however the future may have in store, our faith and experience forbid us to expect the rise of any power that shall dispense with the virtues of self-denial and self-control, or with the affections which bind man to the home and family, or with the graces which Heaven opens through the gospel of Christ. No new science of statics will give man a better stand-point than the Rock of Ages,—no new dynamics can supersede the power of faith and the Divine Spirit. In welcoming the new age we cannot part with the old gospel.

ART. IV.—SPIRIT AND FORM.*

BY REV. ROBERT TURNBULL,

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GENTLEMEN OF THE KNOWLES RHETORICAL SOCIETY:—
Without attempting to secure your favorable regard, by apologetic preliminaries of any kind, a custom, in our humble judgment, more honored in the breach than the observance, suffer me to call your attention, at once, to the subject of

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Spirit and Form, which I propose to consider with reference to an æsthetic and practical, rather than a metaphysical, or theological use.

All are familiar with the common distinction between mind and matter, soul and body, thought and expression. It is much the same as that between spirit and form. The distinction is real, is universal. It is found in all times, and in all languages. It pervades the universe. Indeed we may say, without affecting philosophical precision, that spirit and form are the only two things in existence; and while distinct, are generally found conjoined, the one being the symbol, analogon, or expression of the other. At any rate, it will be admitted that all beings and all modes of being, all thought and all embodiment of thought, range themselves under these two heads.

Even if we allow to each finite spirit a distinct personality; nay more, if we allow to matter a real, though not independent existence, we have in the universe only God and his creation, man, or angel, and his creation; in other words, infinite spirit, with its appropriate form or expression, and finite spirit, with its appropriate form or expression. Matter, however substantial it may be deemed, after all is only a more perfect and striking form. It is fluent, it is infinitely divisible, it changes, and passes away. Hence it is difficult to conceive of body, except as the shadow or reflection of mind. If separate from spirit, after all it comes from spirit. The material creation itself is but the garment of the Almighty. We do not indeed mean to say, that the whole is simply ideal; far from it. The external universe exists, exists for us, and has the qualities which we ascribe to it. But it does not exist *per se*. It is dependent, dependent upon spirit. It began with time, it exists by sufferance, exists as a form, and as a form it may vanish away.

If this be so, the import of matter is not to be sought in itself, but in mind. The whole visible creation is a symbol, or hieroglyph, or, if you please, a system of symbols or hieroglyphs. Thought, immaterial and eternal, is the key to reveal its secrets.

There was a time when form (as known to us) did not exist,—when the universe was all spirit—all God. Self-subsistent and self-satisfying, the absolute Truth, the uncreated Beauty, Goodness, and Power, was a single spiritual Essence. Active as spirit, conscious too and ever-blessed, God was simply and absolutely THE ALL. Form he had none. For, a pure spirit, boundless and eternal, has no shape nor dimen-

sions, no lines nor outlines. All form, such as we conceive it, all form, we mean, which is a reality and not a metaphysical abstraction, must be projected into space, must occupy some specific and limited sphere. However attenuated, it has some line or boundary, some aspect or shape, these being inseparable from the very idea of form.

If such a thing as a "spiritual form" exist, or what has been styled "the reduplication of an infinite consciousness," or of "an infinite Essence," which, by a figure of speech, borrowed from matter, may be called *the Logos*, or image of God, it does not partake of the nature of body at all, and indeed is *bound-less* and *form-less*, as it is uncreated and eternal. It is in the very nature of God to be without bounds or limits of any kind, so that a mere form, however vast, can never make the slightest approximation to his essential or absolute nature. Spirit is one and indivisible; form is manifold, the creature of space and time. And hence the whole exterior or created universe, even if spoken of as the shadow of the Almighty, can be so only by a figure of speech. In comparison with the one Infinite Being, all worlds, magnificent and manifold, are but "the shadow of a shade,"—as it were, the dim, though beautiful adumbration of his eternal power and Godhead. God only hath immortality.* He alone is infinite, absolute, eternal.

But "in the beginning," at some specific time in the immeasurable ages of eternity, God created the heavens and the earth. God said, Let there be light, and there was light. Matter and form, vast, various, and beautiful, sprang into existence. Before, they were not—now, they began to be, because the Almighty so willed it,—that is, as in ordinary phrase we express it, God created or made them. But how did he create or make them? By "calling things that are not as though they were," that is, by making something out of nothing? But how can *no-thing* ever become *some-thing*; how can *non-existence* ever be made *existence*? If by these questions we refer to the secret process by which the Infinite produces the finite, the One the many, the matter involves an inscrutable mystery. For, to say that God created the universe out of or from nothing, is to say that he created it in spite of nothing, or when there was nothing, but Himself. Nothing is a nonentity,—God then only remains; and if he produces finite beings and worlds, he produces them from Himself. Pre-existent materials, physical or spiritual, except himself, there were none. He filled the infinite,—

* Meaning by this, absolute existence.

was the infinite,—in a word, was **THE ALL**. Moreover, he was the All, as spirit, formless and eternal. What then was produced at the creation, was produced, though not in any gross and carnal sense, from God. He made it from his own boundless energy, his own ineffable resources. It is different from Himself only as it is finite and formal, but it comes from Himself, and must be the image of his excellence, the echo of his glory. Indeed it is Himself, embodied and revealed; for now God is not only **THE ALL**, but he is **IN ALL**. True, finite forms, and even finite spirits, metaphysically speaking, are not God, from the very fact that they are finite and formal; but without God they cannot exist. They are separate from God, but not independent, for while projected into the realms of space and time, they live and have their being in Him alone. The finite world, whether of matter or of mind, lies in the infinite. Dissevered from the Deity, it ceases to exist. Man breathes, and the worlds roll, only by his fiat. Still, finite forms and things, properly speaking, are not phantoms, having an existence only relatively to the minds that conceive them; no, they are proper existences, which come from God and partake in some sense, not fully developed, of the Divine nature. Whatever they are, it is evident that they discover or reveal his being and attributes. The finite ever suggests the Infinite, ever images or symbolizes the Infinite. God is in all things as their foundation, their life, beauty, and perfection. Of course he is above them, because he is infinite; but he is in them, for they have no life separate from Him, no meaning or end independent of Him. The whole created universe mirrors His eternal perfection. All beauty is his image, all eloquence his echo, all grandeur his form.

So also man, who as a finite spirit is created in the image of God, possesses the high power of embodying or expressing himself in specific shapes. In his way, he reveals himself to himself, and to others, by means of symbols or forms. He thus perpetuates his existence and influence in the world, passes into other minds, transmits himself across oceans and continents, nay, makes himself known and felt in all coming time. Moses, Homer, Plato, Milton, are yet known, and will be known and felt, it may be, for ever, in the forms which they produced in the long-vanished past. All indeed are thus transmitting themselves, and so, while passing away, are also passing on, with the flow of the ages. Souls may be gone, but forms, symbols, utterances, influences remain, and remain as vehicles or expressions of soul. So that in this respect, the dead are more influential than the living. We see them, hear

them, feel them, obey them, more than all our contemporaries. In a word, man has the divine capacity of embodiment, that is, of expression and utterance. He does not indeed create, in the absolute sense of the expression, for he ever works with pre-existent materials; and yet he does something analogous to creation, whenever he gives embodiment to his interior conceptions, and goes forth into space and time by invented forms. By this means, as if in imitation of Him who said, "Let there be light, and there was light," he projects himself into the universe around him in shapes and structures, beautiful and permanent as the everlasting hills. In this sense, indeed, every man is a poet, a ποιητής, a *maker*, or *producer*. Whether he will it or no, he gives body and expression to his interior or spiritual states, and they live after him, to bless or to curse the world. And especially is this true of all powerful and inventive minds, who are hailed as the makers or poets of the beautiful and true in outward shape or form,—

"Bodying forth the forms of things unknown,
* * * And giving to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

Thus spirit is original and fundamental; form, including matter, utterance, language, derived and dependent. Matter has its meaning from God; language from man, perhaps we ought to say, from God and man combined; for, whether the power of language, or expression, be regarded as original or derived, taught by inspiration or flowing from the spontaneous action of the human soul, it is equally from God, and equally from man. Spirit, whether it exist as finite or infinite, is invisible and inscrutable; form, visible and known, is the manifestation or expression of spirit. "No man hath seen God at any time"; indeed, no man hath ever seen himself, or any other man, as an essential spirit. In this respect man is as inscrutable as God. The one is no more seen, no more known, except through outward forms. All that can be seen is shape, all that can be heard is utterance, or sound; in a word, all that can be seen, heard, or known, in an outward way, is the mysterious but not unmeaning echo of interior spirit.

Through form, then, spirit is discovered, through form it is communicated. Into this channel pour themselves all the thoughts, feelings, and purposes of finite, nay more, of infinite existence. Through this rush the streams both of time and eternity.

Thus we have God concealed, and God manifested. "Ver-

ily thou art a God that hidest thyself!" exclaims the prophet, with a sublime significance. "The invisible God" is an expression as Scriptural as it is philosophical. In this respect, God may be said to be utterly unknown and ineffable. His essential nature is a fathomless abyss. Limit or relation, aspect or shape, it has none. Absolute and all-sufficient, he fills eternity, and can be spoken of only as BEING,—as the I AM THAT I AM,—as the PERFECT, the WONDERFUL, the UNKNOWN. Yet God is seen, is known, as revealed or manifested. He takes form, and goes forth in the magnificence of the physical creation, in the splendor of the starry heavens, in the beauty and fruitfulness of the earth. He walks upon the sea, vast and multitudinous, the symbol of eternity; "glasses himself in tempests," rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm. We hear him, feel him, passing in glory and in joy through the rock-ribbed mountains, the "wide old woods," and the pastures of the wilderness. We meet him in all the forms of animals, in all the movements of society, in our own bodies and souls, fearfully and wonderfully made, and throbbing, so to speak, with the burden of the Divine. In a word, the Uncreated reveals himself in creation, the Infinite in finite shape and form. Within us and around us the Absolute and Unutterable is felt and known; so that, in this respect, we "know," as St. Paul suggests, that which "passeth knowledge."

So also the spirit of man, finite though it be, is, in itself, equally unknown and inscrutable. Its origin, its mode of existence, and the element, or rather essence, of its interior being, utterly transcends all powers of thought. It cannot be known even to itself, except through media. Subsequently it may transcend these, and so become conscious of itself by a pure intuition; but its first movement is one of contact with external or internal energies or impressions. As a pure essence, man is a mystery as profound as that of God, whose child he is; for man, as a spirit, is made in "the image of God." We cannot see him, hear him, feel him, know him, until manifested by forms. Nay, he cannot know himself till reflected to himself in sensible images and impressions. Soul and body, nature and man, must come together, that thought, feeling, and affection may spring to life.

Spirit, then, is original and fundamental; form is subsequent and dependent. Spirit is the cause, form the effect. Spirit is the producer, form the result. Spirit is supreme—is the one essential thing in the universe; form is agent and instrument. Form is valuable only as the vehicle of spirit,

interesting and attractive only as the organ of mind. Dissevered from God or from man, it is a phantom, a nonentity. Its existence, its meaning and force, all are derived from spirit.

At this point we reach the fundamental principle of all expression, of all eloquence; for expression and eloquence are only other words for form. To be good for anything, it must be the outbirth and utterance of spirit. Soul, great, beautiful and glowing, whether as infinite or finite, must be present to give it grandeur and force.

To elucidate this idea, we remark that there are two fundamental attributes of spirit, *Thought* and *Feeling*, or we might say, *Intelligence* and *Love*, the latter including the element of *Will*. Spirit is ever self-conscious, productive, designing, capable of all affection and felicity. Hence the dread Sovereign of the Universe, absolute and boundless as he is, is yet "the ever-blessed God"; this idea involving not only consciousness, but affection, not only intelligence, but love. God is Love, as God is Thought, that is to say, Spirit. Not indeed finite and successive, like human thought or human affection, but absolute and ineffable.

Here then we discover the worth and attractiveness of the outward universe, embodying as it does, in forms of unspeakable grandeur and beauty, the thoughts, feelings, and purposes of the eternal Spirit. It is not dull or dead, as men sometimes imagine, but warm, active, and vital, instinct, in fact, and absolutely glowing with intelligence and love.

To secure this revelation requires a combination of finite matter and finite mind: for finite matter would be nothing without the mind for which it was made; nor would finite mind, so far as we know, be anything without the matter or form to which it corresponds. We open our eyes upon the visible creation, and mind comes into contact with matter, spirit with form; the one transfers itself to the other, and in the mysterious exchange, thought, reason, utterance, are born. This is the hand of God, and God is instantly seen in it; for here too the idea of God is born. Subject and object, finite and infinite, human and divine, come together. Man discovers himself, discovers the universe as the evidence and image of its Creator. Matter takes its meaning from mind, and mind from matter, while both, in their mystic combination, take their meaning from the Infinite. So that not only thought and reason, but feeling and worship, are the result. The world exterior, and the world interior, become a magnificent whispering gallery, resounding with divine

echoes. God is there, is everywhere, in heaven above, in earth below, in all sights, and in all sounds. Light, heat, electricity, the seasons, winds, waves and storms, all shapes and voices, all colors and motions, all changes and transformations, all animals and men, in fine, the order, harmony, and perfection of the universe, become the fit symbol and expression of his all-pervading Spirit.

On which ground, we speak of the eloquence of nature, and call it now a sermon, then a hymn, then a drama, and even an evangel, as it were, a sacred literature, multifarious and thrilling,—

“The Gospel of the stars, great Nature’s Holy Writ.”

It is never meaningless, arid, or dull. All is fresh, elastic, delicate, original, for all is throbbing with spirit. Mind is there, heart is there, exuberant and glowing. God is there. God is all, and in all, as intelligence and love. This is the true melody of the spheres, this the transcendent eloquence of earth and sky.

What then are the characteristics of this discourse, or eloquence of nature?

Undoubtedly the principal one is spontaneity. It is the immediate production of spirit. For nature, once created, is ever recreated, or renewed. “Thou renewest the face of the earth.” The one therefore is a living mirror of the other. Spirit and form are welded in a vital and endearing union. The symbol or utterance, ever old, is also ever young. It never stands alone. God is always in it, and in it freely and energetically. The form perfectly conveys the thought, the feeling and impulse. Indeed they are one. A single flash, a tint, a motion, reveals the presence of the Infinite. For, with equal fullness and facility,

“He gives its beauty to an insect’s wing,
And wheels his throne upon the rolling worlds.”

So intimately present is God in all the works of nature, that it is difficult at times to separate the symbol from the reality, or refrain from worshipping the temple instead of the Divinity who fills it. Hence the pantheism of such men as Novalis and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, more imaginative than analytic, more poetical than philosophical, confound the real with the ideal, the human with the Divine. And yet it is by no means strange that minds of this stamp should fall into the beautiful, but bewildering error. For it would

seem at times as if the very heart of God were visibly palpitating beneath the thin vesture of material forms. Nature is all alive with divinity. It takes indeed a spiritual eye to discern this. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." But it is so with all expression, with all eloquence. However grand or thrilling, it is nothing to a narrow or carnal mind. For reception and appreciation, it needs a kindred spirit. The pure and beautiful without meets the pure and beautiful within, and the union is a festival of joy.

Let a truly great and loving heart, like Chrysostom or Milton, look upon nature, let him stand among Alpine solitudes, or by the rushing streams, or in the vast wilderness, or in the hoary forests, or by the shore of the sea; let him, in the soft stillness of a summer night, gaze far outward and above him, and what does he see, what hear and feel? "Keep silence," cries an old pagan oracle, with a strange wisdom, "and we shall hear the murmur of the gods!" "I saw," says a devout philosopher, as he gazed into the secrets of nature, with a shudder of delight, "the omnipotent, omniscient, everlasting God pass by me, and I trembled." Another, the poet of the middle ages, piercing the heavens, sees "one sun transcendent," shedding its beauty over all the worlds of light, penetrating the "blue profound," and shedding radiant glory into the very depths of Erebus and old night. One of the Christian fathers, the devout Basil, describing the intense beauty of the constantly serene nights of Asia Minor, where, according to his own expression, "the stars, those eternal flowers of heaven," raise the spirit of man from "the visible to the invisible," discerns God in the sky above and in the sea below, which, when "gently agitated by mildly breathing airs, gives back the varied hues of heaven, now in white, now in blue, and now in roseate light." "Go," says Chrysostom, when exhorting his audience to turn away from man to God, "when thou lookest upon the glittering buildings, if the range of columns would seduce thy heart, go quickly to contemplate the vault of heaven and the open fields, with the flocks grazing by the water's side. Who but despises all that art can show whilst he gazes at early morn, and in the silence of the heart, on the rising sun pouring his golden light upon the earth; or when seated by the side of a fountain in the cool grass, or in the dark shade of thick foliage, his eye feeds the while on the wide-extended prospect far vanishing in the distance?" Milton exclaims:

"These are thy glorious works, Parent of good," &c.

He calls not only upon "the sons of light,"

"Who, with choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle the throne rejoicing,"

but upon all the forms of creation, animate and inanimate, the sun, moon, and stars, "the wandering fires," the winds, waves, and exhalations, all trees and streams, fountains and "fresh" rills, "which warble as they flow," to unite in the praise of

"The first Good, first Perfect, and first Fair."

In this way the soul of the true poet and thinker discovers the infinite in nature :

"A presence that disturbs him with the joy
Of elevated thoughts."

"He sees a hand, we," ordinary and carnal men, cannot see. "He hears a voice, we cannot hear." In a word, the whole universe around him is radiant "with light from heaven," is vocal with a "music not its own."

It is owing to this, the perfect union of spirit and form in nature, in other words, the presence of an actual vital power, that we call it divine. Its simplicity and fullness of expression result from this cause. Never withered or languid, it is always new-born for the occasion. "Quick" and "free," it seems but the natural play of an infinite Power.

For the same reason, the eloquence of nature is always calm and solemn, with an air of majesty and repose, as if itself were in awe of something behind it or present with it. Every one discovers this, in passing, perhaps for the first time, and indeed at any time, when thoughtful and alone, into the silent woods, or among the primeval mountains, or indeed into any of the grand and beautiful retreats of nature. We could almost imagine that they were in waiting for the advent of something ineffable, or as if they were burdened with a mighty secret. Nature is ever calm and reverent, because God is there. It has no irregular, convulsive, plashy movements. These, at least, if they ever occur, are local and exceptional. The great whole is calm, and even solemn, in its might. It moves with something more than mortal tread, speaks with something more than mortal voice. Its tones are those of a godlike power, as if they were echoes of thoughts "which wander through eternity," of impulses which come from the inmost centre of existence. With what awful majesty roll the

tempests among Alpine peaks; how grandly the multitudinous waves chase each other upon the bosom of the deep. With what a chorus the myriad-voiced woods, even in a tempest, sing their stormy hymn to the listening heavens. How solemn, sometimes, and even appalling, the strange, Memnonian swell of autumnal winds, echoing through the realms of space, and dying far away on the very borders of the infinite.* How swiftly, yet how sublimely rush the stars through the immensity of night. In a word, with what soft and rhythmic, yet vast and overwhelming energy sweeps the Spirit of God through the circles of the universe, smiting the soul of him who hears it or feels it with terror and delight. "Oh, there are hours in the life of man," exclaims Tholuck, with an eloquence akin to that of nature, "when thou dost imagine thyself to come near Him. Oh, there are wonderful hours in the life of man, when it is as if the great mystery of all existence would at once burst asunder its bar, and come forth unveiled."

Thus we add, that the eloquence of nature is ever direct and earnest. Consisting of vital forms, it is definite and resistless in its movement, definite and complete in its result. It has ever a specific and practical aim, to which it leaps with the simplicity and directness of an original force. Beautiful and even ornate, nay, sometimes also apparently negligent and homely, it is never inconsequent and broken. Full of energy as well as grace, it passes to the accomplishment of its object, like an eagle to its prey, or a torrent to the sea. Combining unity and variety—unity of spirit, and variety of form—it satisfies at once the intellect and the taste. In a word, for this is the sum of the matter, nature is the embodied form and voice of uncreated beauty and power. God is in it, or with it, or by it, as an inspiration, or an outbirth, giving it a power over the heart the most wonderful, a power which all more or less feel, though few perhaps understand or acknowledge. If they did so, they would regard nature with a profound and reverent interest. Night and day would they hear its mysterious voice; night and day would they thrill, and weep, and worship, under its divine eloquence.

We must, however, develop our idea by ascending a step higher, for there is yet a form or revelation of God, of vaster import; of grander and more touching beauty. The teachings of nature, as all from experience know, reach only to a certain point. Man, too, in his actual state, is fallen, and

* De Quincey, decidedly the most eloquent of recent English writers, having much of the high sweep and grandeur of nature, refers, in his "*Suspiria de Profundis*," to a certain swell even of summer winds, as producing a similar impression.

cannot see God, above all, cannot love God as he ought. The temple of humanity, which once enshrined the Divine presence, and shone to the whole universe with such celestial radiance, is defiled and fallen. The mighty ruins lie in confusion, like Tadmor amid the weeds of the wilderness; so that it is only in fragments that it discovers the glory of its Maker and Lord. True, the earth and heavens around it are pure and beautiful. Hesperus looks down upon it with an eye of love. All the night long troops of constellations visit it with compassionate recognition. The great sun by day sheds upon it his resplendent beams, and the cool shadows of evening gather around its prostrate fanes, its silent groves, revealing clearly the might and purity of the all-pervading Jehovah. But, alas! the ruins lie there silent and sad, or give back the mournful echoes of the winds wandering through their deserted aisles. Despair has seized the heart of man, he knows not the true God and eternal life. He repels the very presence of the Holy One as an intrusion and a dread.

Another discovery then of the Infinite is absolutely demanded, another and more perfect revelation to make known to man "the true God and eternal life."

But God as a spirit is invisible. Once more then, in the end of the world, he bursts the barrier of eternity, and comes forth more gloriously than by means of the first form or creation, in the person or form of Jesus Christ. He reveals himself "in the flesh." The invisible becomes visible before our eyes; and as we look, like Thomas we exclaim, "My Lord, and my God." Jehovah shines upon us in the material creation, in the sun, moon and stars, in all the order, harmony and glory of the physical universe; but with deeper meaning and diviner lustre, he shines upon us "in the face of Jesus." Gazing here with devout awe, we are not only enlightened by the awful radiance, but changed into its own immortal image. "Beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, we are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."

Thus Jesus Christ is the most perfect revelation of the unseen God, his last great Word, his final and most affecting discourse to the world.*

Transcending nature itself, still Jesus, as the image of God, has all the characteristics of nature. Here as there, and in-

* Of course we say nothing here of the interior nature of Jesus Christ as the Divine Logos, the God-man, the God manifest. Our object, as already stated, is not metaphysical or theological, but æsthetic and practical.

deed in a much closer and profounder sense, God and his form are one. So complete is the identity, that some find it difficult, if not impossible, to separate the human from the divine; for in this high union God and man seem equally divine. The temple, though of human materials, is transfigured by the indwelling glory.

How simple and august the character of Christ, yet how singularly comprehensive, we may say, diversified and multi-form in its high aspects and relations; so that the study of this one image or form, this one mysterious and complex Being, who is spirit and form in one, might last for eternity. "Into which things the angels desire to look." Strange and ineffable conjunction, as it were the union of heaven and earth, of God and man, of eternity and time. The First, the Last, the Alpha, the Omega, the one all-comprehending Spirit, the one all-comprehending Form. In him therefore all eloquence is embodied. His cross becomes the centre of the world, the might of the church. This then is the model Sermon, the living Logos, the incarnate eloquence of heaven.

But human speech is a form of utterance akin to that of nature, and in fact derived from it, and God has condescended to use this also to discover himself to us, as one man communicates with another, by means of oral or written speech. Through this medium indeed the incarnate Word is made known to the generations. So that we have a double Word, the one the Incarnate Son of God, the other the inspired record of his character and teachings. The Scriptures are the Word *written*, Jesus Christ is the Word *acted*.

Here also we discover all the peculiarities of the Divine eloquence. It is human, indeed, because it is the language of man, but it is also divine, for it is the utterance of divine thoughts and affections. Like nature, the Bible is a book, vast and multi-form, yet with great simplicity, unity, and strength. It is not, as many deem it, a dead, but a vital form, in which the soul or spirit of Divinity is embodied. It uses an endless variety of symbols and figures of speech, derived from nature, fresh and striking, in which the thought is fitted to the word, the feeling to the form. In fact the Holy Scripture is born from the Spirit, (*θεοπνευματος*), *God-breathed*, and hence must possess a singular vitality and force. Man indeed speaks therein, but through man God also speaks, as the inspiration of the whole.

Hence the simplicity, vividness, and power of the sacred Record. Hence its endless variety, its unity and grandeur. Many-voiced, like the earth, it yet utters the same grand and

thrilling strain. Its vast and multitudinous voices, as of winds and waves, rocks, forests, mountains, and streams, blend in one choral hymn, the burden of which is, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will to men." The Bible indeed is the most simple, the most natural, the most practical, the most comprehensive, the most inexhaustible, the most musical, the most wonderful book in the universe, a book of myriad thoughts and myriad tones, a divine organ, as it were, through whose innumerable pipes and stops the melodies of heaven are for ever playing upon the world.

But we hasten, for such is our main drift, to apply this subject to human eloquence, which, to be true and effective, must be formed more or less on the model of nature, or of the divine. In its measure the eloquence of man, though mingled with imperfection, must correspond to the eloquence of God. Hence eloquence is not the superficial thing which it is too often represented to be, not the mere rhetoric of the schools, framed by rule, and manufactured for the occasion, but a spontaneous outbirth of an inward spiritual force. It requires for its production, not simply a good man, as Cicero and Theremin hold, but a good man brimful of thought and feeling, and capable, by the power of original genius, of giving it adequate form and expression. The mighty truth or emotion throbbing in the soul must take form before the eyes of others, to be communicated to their receptive and sympathizing souls. A fervid spirit, inflamed with the thoughts and impulses of God, in such a case, goes out of itself by means of embodied symbols, and actually passes into other spirits, kindling there the same celestial fire. In a word, here, as in all similar cases, form must be born of spirit, and spring forth, as a living word, burning and beautiful, like a winged seraph from the realms of glory, scattering light and joy in its pathway through the world.

In the mere human sphere, the sphere we mean of ordinary literature, this is the secret of the power wielded by the great masters of eloquence and song. Drawing nigh to nature, which in some sense is drawing nigh to God, they become vehicles for the time being of higher thoughts and emotions than are given to ordinary mortals. This produces necessarily simplicity, freshness and force. And just in proportion as spirit and form blend in any literary production, will it possess originality and power. All men of true genius, though defective in many respects, attain it more or less; for all, whether they acknowledge the fact or not, are interpreters of nature, echoes of the universe in its interior beauty and perfection.

Those who know the secret of God, and of the universe, other things being equal, of course will utter the most original and thrilling speech. The most effective speaking we ever heard was from the lips of an unlettered mechanic, newly born of God. At the time it seemed as if we had never heard such burning words. His countenance glowed with a light not its own; his expressions, simple and homely, were transfigured as by a celestial power. This indeed passed away, and the man subsided into a quiet Christian disciple, and finally died a peaceful death; but while it lasted, every one recognized it as the inspiration of the Almighty.

Hence the most original, the most simple and powerful eloquence on record, is that of the holy seers of the olden time. Their own lofty and impassioned souls are in it, linked by mysterious bonds to their forms of utterance. But more than this, nature, with all her beauty and power, is in it too. Nay, God is in it. Their words, their prophecies, their prayers, their hymns, their sermons, are all echoes from eternity. A strange fascination is in them. They thrill with divinity.

How strong, how diversified and beautiful, for example, is David or Isaiah. You feel, while they are speaking, as if angels, all the time, were keeping tune, as if God himself poured a melody through the whole. The great heart of Paul was filled with the Holy Spirit, and his words, strong and startling, rushing, like an army to battle, are yet marshalled in a sublime order, and keep tune to the music of eternity. Majestic as the voice of many waters, they are often soft and beautiful as the wings of angels. What lofty conceptions are his, what striking figures, what vehement appeals, what trumpet tones. Rough and homely now and then in matters of detail, just like nature, how grand and graceful as a whole! Ah, 'tis not the trick of the rhetorician, or the glare of the schools; but the power of God, the demonstration of the Spirit.

How singularly eloquent also is John, well styled "the beloved disciple," and equally well, "the Son of Thunder;" for he possesses not merely depth and beauty, but an amazing sublimity. His style indeed does not rumble and flash, like mock thunder, or like such descriptions of thunder as second-rate writers, who do not know the scent of nature, give us. For, it is more the lightning, vivid and beautiful, darting through the storm-cloud and cleaving, as with the hammer of omnipotence, the gnarled oak, or the rocky battlement,—more this than aught else, which gives to thunder its peculiar characteristic of sublimity and force. A dark horizon, sud-

denly lighted by one broad, vivid gleam, is the most perfect instance of the beautiful and sublime, and the fit image therefore of such a man as John. Though calm and clear, like the light which heralds the thunder-peal, he is yet sublime and daring as the same light, fringing the brow of night, and darting from one end of heaven to the other. Augustine, with reference to this peculiarity, compares John to an eagle, soaring above the clouds, where the eye cannot see him. "The other evangelists," he says, "represent Christ walking upon earth; John however follows him far above all angels and men into the heaven of heavens, sees him upon the throne of God, adored and worshipped by saints and angels." We must never forget that the writer of the Gospel, which is calm and sublime, like the Divine Logos, whose incarnation and life on earth it describes, was also the writer of the Apocalypse, in which we see an imagery so rich and bold, that we find nothing with which to compare it, among all the productions of genius. Still the divine apostle, even in the Gospel, attains to heights which often remind us of his peculiar name. It was this doubtless which suggested to the celebrated Claudius his fine description of the apostle's style. "I like best," he says, in his peculiar way, "to read in the Gospel of John. There is a something so very wonderful in it—twilight and night, and through them the quick flash of lightning. A soft evening cloud, and behind this cloud, lo! there is the large, full moon. There is in it something so melancholy, so sublime, and so foreboding, that you cannot get tired of it. When reading John, I always feel as if I saw him before me, lying on the bosom of his Master at the last supper; as if his angel were holding my light, and at certain passages wishing to embrace me and to say something into my ear. I am far from understanding all that I read; still it often seems as if that which John meant were floating before me in the far distance; and even when I cast my eyes upon a place that is quite dark, I have nevertheless a presentiment of a great and beautiful meaning, which I shall understand at some future time, and therefore do I take up so joyfully every new interpretation of the Gospel of John. True it is, that most of them are only playing with the evening cloud, and leave the moon behind it entirely out of sight."

The great and loving spirit of the apostle lay in the bosom of the Infinite, as on earth he lay on the bosom of Jesus, and through this human vehicle, that is, through the utterance of

this human heart, we can hear, we can feel, the pulses of a diviner life. The eloquence of John is the eloquence of God.*

In their sphere, one lower, and more especially human, all other sacred poets and orators have possessed this peculiar power. Filled with great thoughts and emotions, as it were, with the inspiration of nature, or rather of the Almighty, they have communicated their own spirit to the world in forms of life and beauty, or as we are wont to say, "in thoughts that breathe, and words that burn."

Thus Dante, an erring man, yet a genius and a worshipper, has given utterance to strains of intense and ravishing melody. Weary and sin-beset, he drew nigh to nature and to God, to the very shrine and heart of what he calls "increate and eternal Beauty," and, filled with thoughts and emotions the most profound, and having a mastery of form unequalled in the annals of poetry, he throws them into shapes of marvellous grace and grandeur. His Beatrice, so natural and yet so spiritual, the symbol of perfect virtue, or religion, is so delicately imaged, and at the same time so transfigured by supernal light, that her beauty is less of earth than of heaven. Indeed we may say of her, both as human and divine, for she is both :

" Oh, thou art fairer than the evening sky,
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars."

In the *Commedia* we find a singular combination of delicacy and grandeur, of simplicity and force. Dante paints with the grotesque energy of Hogarth. A few strokes of his pen, and all forms of horror and glory stand before us. His vigor and movement are immense. He passes on like one of his own august angels, sailing, upon wings of light, "the dim profound," or plunging amid the horrors of the second death, yet with that strange quiet of manner and grace of style which remind us of the march of angels through the starry night.

But the most striking thing in the poetry of Dante is the perfect union of spirit and form. Thought and image, impulse and utterance, have a common life. Indeed, if there be any difference, it is that the thought and the feeling evidently predominate, as if revealing vast resources behind ; while the form of expression, often gorgeous and beautiful, is never overstrained, and seems as simple as a bird on the wing, or

* It is on this ground we should maintain, if theology were our object, the *plenary*, though not *mechanical*, *inspiration* of the Sacred Scriptures. They are *full of God*, and yet natural and human. For, the thought being divine, the expression, if spontaneous and adequate, is also divine.

a child at play. Intense with thought and energy, and thus strong and beautiful at once, it sweeps along, like a tempest among the hills, or lightning in the midnight heavens. A single flash, and earth and sky, dark as Erebus before, are lighted up from pole to pole.

Much the same thing, though with less of intensity and graphic power, we see in Milton. His principal characteristic is majesty. In Milton's character and work is consummated the union of human learning and divine love. Here, as in an old-world cathedral, illumined by the setting sun, and resounding hallelujahs, blends the most perfect devotion with the most perfect art. All is grand, and beautiful, and holy. In the "*Paradise Lost*," you come into contact with thoughts which sweep the whole compass of letters, and the fresh fields of nature made lustrous by the fine frenzy of the poet; here also, and more especially, you come into contact with "thoughts which wander through eternity." You trace his daring flight, not simply through the realms of primeval glory, but of chaos and elder night. You follow the track of his burning wing through the hollow abyss, "whose soil is fiery marl," whose roof is one vast floor of lurid light, and whose oceans are "floods of sweltering flame." You mingle, shuddering, with infernal hosts, or listen with rapture to the far-off choiring of cherubim and seraphim, the glorious mingling of sweet sounds "from harp, lute, and dulcimer." You stand on the dismal verge of Pandemonium, with its dusky swarms of fallen spirits, glimmering through the shadows, "thick as the leaves in Vallambrosa," see prone upon its burning marl, or sailing through the gloomy atmosphere, that form of angel ruined, vast, shadowy, and terrible, which when it moves causes the abyss to shudder. You gaze, with astonishment and awe, upon the starry domes which rise, "like an exhalation," from the fiery depths, and tremble at the shout of defiance from the multitudinous army, as it rings through those lurid halls. Or, rising oppressed with the splendor and woe of the infernal regions, you pass, with the gentle poet, into the fragrance of Paradise, bathe your eyes in celestial dews, wander with heavenly guests through the melodious groves and "amaranthine bowers" of Eden, quaffing immortal draughts from cool fountains, soothed by the song of early birds, and finding rest unutterable beneath the shadow of the tree of life; or, it may be, holding converse high, on some "serener mount," with angelic forms, or with that noblest pair, whose innocence and beauty are fresh as the young dews which glisten upon the flowers of Eden. You

catch the spirit of that high Christian seer, gaze through the long vista of time, behold the wonders of Calvary, man redeemed, and the gates of glory thronged with rejoicing myriads.

Thus spirit and form come together; thus reveal themselves to mortal gaze the secrets of the invisible world, the mysteries of Providence, Paradise lost, and Paradise regained.

Among prose writers who combine spirit and form in their highest perfection, Plato and Bunyan, in different spheres, and with many contrasts as well as resemblances, stand pre-eminent. The prose of Milton, Bacon, Jeremy Taylor, Leibnitz, Pascal, Burke, Goethe and Coleridge is also highly distinguished in this way. Much of their power depends not only on the vigor and massiveness of their thoughts, the depth and intensity of their feelings, but on the fresh and vivid picturesqueness of their style. All abound in figures and forms of utterance drawn directly from the storehouse of nature. There are passages in the prose works of Milton as lofty and rhythmical as any in the "*Paradise Lost*." Bacon, with the profoundness of a philosopher, has all the fancy of a poet. Jeremy Taylor, whose word-painting is wonderful, abounds in fine imaginative sallies and figures of speech. The *Theodicea* of Leibnitz was regarded by the celebrated Bonnet as the most admirable manual of devotion, so lofty and spirit-stirring are its descriptions of the Divine character and works. The plastic power of Pascal's style formed an era in French literature; Burke lays the universe under tribute to body forth his grand and comprehensive thoughts; while Goethe is, if possible, more imaginative and beautiful in his prose than in his poetry. Coleridge has a rare gift of lofty and poetical expression. His "*Aids to Reflection*," "*Biographia Literaria*," and "*Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*," have passages of as much depth and poetic power as his "*Rime of an Ancient Marinere*," or "*Hymn before Sunrise in the Valley of Chamouni*."

But superior to them all, in our humble judgment, stand Plato and Bunyan, who may be regarded as types of their class, and who, though far separated by time and place, as well as opinion and habit, have more in common than at first sight appears.

With an intense love of nature, Plato lived in an ideal and spiritual world. Possessing a power of abstraction the most refined, he is yet the most eloquent of philosophers, embodying in forms of supernal delicacy and freshness the most subtle and lofty speculations. The true, the good, the beau-

tiful, absolute and immortal, are the objects of his worship. But he regards external nature as their analogon or type, and thus he passes and repasses from the one to the other. While he loved mathematical and philosophical reasoning, he loved also "the grove of Academe"—

"Where the Attic bird
Trills her thick warbled note the summer long."

Thus in the Phædrus, we find Socrates discussing the nature of *Love*, in its higher and purer sense, in a scene beyond the city walls, which, from its influence upon his mind, he speaks of as divine:—

* * * "But, my friend, to interrupt our conversation, is not this the tree to which you were leading me?"

"Phæ. This is the very one.

"Socr. By Juno, a beautiful retreat. For this plane tree is very wide-spreading and lofty, and the height and shadiness of that agnus castus is very beautiful, and as it is now at the perfection of its flowering, it makes this spot as fragrant as possible. Moreover a most agreeable fountain flows under the shadow of the plane tree, of very cold water, to judge from its effect upon the foot. It appears from these images and statues to be sacred to certain nymphs, and Achelous. Observe again the freshness of the spot, how charming and very delightful it is, and how summer-like and shrill it sounds from the choir of grasshoppers. But the most delightful of all is the greensward, which with its gentle slope is naturally adapted to give an easy support to the head, as one reclines."

Plato, as you are aware, reasoning simply, and without the aid of such revelation as we enjoy, on the nature and tendencies of the soul, comes to the conclusion, that it must have been prior in the order of existence to matter, having sprung directly as an emanation from the Deity; that, as such, it must have possessed an original perfection, and lived in some pristine state of innocence and peace, from which, somehow, it has fallen into the grossness of its present material and carnal condition; and thence having a dim reminiscence of its former state, in its innate ideas of the perfect and the divine, which seem to be hints of its true character and destiny, it must rise from matter and from sin into the region of the spiritual and divine, and thus attain to a perfect and immortal life. But as form is as dear to Plato as spirit, he must throw these high abstractions into their appropriate figurative costume, and thus give them, for all time, a local habitation and a name. How does he accomplish this end?

By reciting a poetical fable, or, as he calls it in a subsequent part of the *Phædrus*, where it occurs, "a kind of mythical hymn." In this philosophical allegory then, all alive with life and passion, he illustrates, according to his views, the mysterious nature and destiny of souls. It is too long for quotation here. Suffice it however to say, that he compares the soul to a pair of winged steeds and a charioteer. The horses and charioteers of the gods, in the supernal regions, that is of the higher order of souls, are all good; but all others, those of the inferior region or order, are mixed. One horse is gentle and noble, the other vicious and bestial. While the soul is perfect and winged, (for wings with Plato signify the spiritual tendencies of the soul,) it soars aloft; but when it loses its wings, it is borne downward and becomes united with a material frame in which it takes up its abode, and the two united are called mortal. This it is which gives to man his animal and his spiritual existence, his upward and his downward tendencies. He then describes how Jupiter, driving a winged chariot, goes first, and is followed by a host of gods and demons in various divisions; in their flight they reach the external world, where they behold truth, justice, temperance, science, in their essences or ideals. Other inferior souls endeavor to imitate and follow them; but the majority fail: those indeed that get a glimpse of the true essences or ideals are free from harm till the next revolution, but those that fail to do so, are dragged down by their native weight, lose their wings, and become imbedded in earthly natures of various orders, and then, according to their conduct in this condition, are either restored to their pristine state, or fall into deeper degradation. Philosophy, however, or divine contemplation, gives wings to the soul, because it dwells upon the memory of things, and sighs for the ideal and divine.

The wings of the soul then are to be nourished by the love of beauty, ideal beauty and virtue. But the object of desire is often mistaken, and the false is substituted for the true. And as each soul was before divided into three parts, two having the form of horses, and the third that of a charioteer, so that division must still be retained. When therefore the charioteer beholds the object of affection, the obedient horse is easily restrained, but the other rushes headlong into sensual delight. But the charioteer, on approaching him, is attracted in the opposite direction, to absolute beauty, and awe-struck falls backward, and throws the horses on their haunches. When, by repeated checks, the vicious horse is fairly broken,

the soul of the lover follows his favorite with reverence, and only as a symbol of eternal beauty ; and if they too, following the bent only of their better nature, seek a well regulated life and friendship, they pass their time in purity and joy, and when they depart, become winged, and win one of the three truly Olympic contests, a greater good than which neither human prudence nor divine inspiration can bestow.

This will give you some slight idea of the manner in which spirit and form are blended in the refined but eloquent dialectics of Plato. No man ever distinguished more clearly between the outward and the inward ; and though frequently mistaken in his metaphysical notions, never fails to clothe them in rich and graceful costume. The most instructive and attractive parts of his works are those in which he mingles the speculations of his lofty genius with the splendors of mythic fable, and thus, to borrow the expression of Goethe, "ascends to heaven in an obelisk of flame." His thought is abstract and high, at times indeed difficult and obscure, his language fresh, figurative, and beautiful, like the mystic labyrinth of some ancient temple, enshrined in an outward form of simple majesty and grace.

In modern times, John Bunyan, without a particle of the analytic or philosophical power of Plato, but with all his ideality and poetry, nay, perhaps, in his simple way, more highly gifted as a word-painter than Plato himself, has given us, in "*The Pilgrim's Progress*," the most singular combination of spirit and form. He too lived in an invisible, or as we may venture to call it, an ideal or spiritual world, grander and more beautiful than that of Plato, while nature and the life of man supplied him with a picture or analogon of the whole. Thus, while lying, not in the groves of Academus, but in Bedford jail, he too produced, as the form of the spiritual and divine gleaming in his soul, those wonderful "mythic hymns" or poetical allegories which have formed the delight of young and old in all parts of the world. All the mysteries of the soul and secret life of man, his fall and his redemption, with the gloom and glory of the spiritual world, are made to glow in pictures of undying truth and beauty. The pilgrim, like Plato's soul, lost in carnality, but at last fleeing from the City of Destruction, struggling in the Slough of Despond, trembling under the flaming Sinai, pressing through the Strait Gate, resting in the House of the Interpreter, climbing up the Hill Difficulty, groaning in the Castle of the Giant Despair, gliding through the Valley of Humiliation with the song of the shepherd-boy in his ears, gazing from

the serene heights of the Delectable Mountains on the distant glory of the Celestial City, bewildered in Vanity Fair, passing in terror through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, lingering with holy joy in the Land of Beulah, crossing the River of Death, gaining the farther shore, and entering with angels into the gates of the Celestial City,—all this presents a form of what is deepest and truest in the nature and destiny of the human soul.

In the department of the arts, expression is governed by the same laws. In all, we see spirit embodied in adequate forms. Taking the hint from nature, the great painters and sculptors have transferred to canvas or marble the fair ideals of their own souls. Their most celebrated productions, those especially which have awakened the sympathy of ages, embody some leading thought or feeling in its appropriate form or symbol. Thus majesty is visible in the Apollo Belvidere, grandeur in the Jupiter Tonans, strength in the Hercules of Glycon, beauty in the Venus de Medici, grief in the Niobé, terror in the Laocoön, agony in the Medusa, purity in the Madonna del Foligno, hope in the Ariadné, inspiration and authority in the Moses of Michael Angelo, justice in the fresco of the Last Judgment, grandeur and meekness, or rather the divine and the human, in the Christ of Daunecker. Perhaps in none are the laws of expression to which we have referred more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the last mentioned statue, one of the most remarkable perhaps in existence. Dannecker had great simplicity and enthusiasm. He was deeply pious and unworldly. His art was a religion and a worship. Mrs. Jameson, in her exquisite *Sketches of Germany*, states that the artist told her, what she had frequently heard before, that the figure of his Christ had visited him in a dream three several times; and the good old man firmly believed that he had been divinely inspired and predestined to the work. While the ideal image was fresh in his imagination, he first executed a small clay model, and placed it before a child of five or six years old;—there were none of the usual emblematical accompaniments, no cross, no crown of thorns, to assist the fancy,—nothing but the simple figure, roughly modelled; yet the child immediately exclaimed, "The Redeemer!" and Dannecker was confirmed in his design. Gradually the completion of this statue became the one engrossing idea of his mind; for eight years it was his dream by night, his thought by day; all things else merged into this. He told his friends that he frequently felt himself as if pursued, excited by some strong, irresistible power, which would even visit him in sleep.

The numerous difficulties he encountered were perfectly overcome, in his own view, only by Divine aid and the constant study of the Scriptures. These were by no means of a slight character. Physical power, mere external majesty and beauty, formed no part of the character of the Saviour, as the great majority of painters and sculptors have falsely supposed. The glory which was around Him came from afar, and could not be seen except by the purified vision—"there was nothing in Him, that He should be desired." Dannecker's aim therefore was to throw into the impersonation of profound humility and benignity, a superhuman grandeur, a divine beauty, and from dead marble to work out an embodiment of spiritual greatness such as never before dawned upon the human soul. This was the sublime and all but impossible task to which this devout genius gave his nights and days, and which he finally accomplished, as he himself firmly believed, under the inspiration of the Almighty. The sentiment of this remarkable statue, unlike all other models, is strikingly expressed in the inscription on the pedestal—"Through me to the Father." Its beauty is of the spiritual alone—its air of another and purer world.

The principles thus far suggested are susceptible, as must be obvious to all, of a practical application to pulpit eloquence, the perfection of which must consist in the union of spirit and form,—spirit under the teaching of the Almighty, and thus filled with grand and thrilling ideas, and form or utterance, simple, adequate, and lifelike, instinct with thought and burning with emotion. In order to this, one must get near to God, in all the attributes of his character, in all the manifestations of his love and power. By earnest and long protracted study of his Word, fellowship and prayer, (for, *bene orasse est bene studuisse*,) the soul must be filled with all divine thoughts and emotions, which it is to pour, in a living flood, upon the souls of others.

Two conditions then are indispensable to sacred eloquence: the first, knowledge and love; the second, form and utterance,—the power to communicate from spirit to spirit the sacred fire kindled in us by the hand of the Almighty. All true thought, and all true feeling, embodied in befitting forms, are infectious and diffusive. They pass, like light in the darkness, or fire in the prairies, from point to point, from individual to individual, till the whole is in a blaze. A great and original soul, filled with the grandest ideas that can occupy the attention of man, beholding by an inward light the glory of the Infinite, burning with "a passion for souls," above all guided and controlled by the Spirit of God, cannot utter itself in simple images and

earnest tones without arousing his fellow-men as with the sound of a trumpet, or the voice of God. In proportion to the breadth and energy of his genius, especially in proportion to the grandeur of his conceptions, the depth and intensity of his feelings pertaining to God and eternity, and his capacity to set them forth in fitting words, tones, and gestures, and thus to throw them all alive into the receptive souls of others, will be the power and success of his eloquence. Every true preacher of the Word may attain to something of this. If called by God to the work, full of love to Christ and to souls, with the glorious gospel in his hands, and the throne of grace within his reach, he can speak to men, as Whitefield said he did, even when "a mere boy, and fresh from the tapster's dress, with some degree of gospel authority." "Great God!" exclaimed that wonderful preacher, after the first sermon he had uttered—

"Great God! unloose my stammering tongue to tell
Thy love immense, unsearchable."

We may not indeed reach the elevation of high and peculiar genius, but all may be eloquent in their measure, for all can pour out, in simple and thrilling tones, the lofty thoughts and burning emotions of an humble and loving heart. Indeed it is strange that we are not on fire with thought and emotion; stranger still that a consecrated minister should permit himself to play with mere words or mere abstractions, when immortal men are before him to hear the truth for life or for death. Luther, it is said, never began to preach without trembling, so burdened was that great Teutonic spirit with the mighty thoughts and still mightier emotions generated by the gospel. Hence his words, homely, earnest, and picturesque, are described as "half battles," and flashed upon his hearers like the red thunderbolts of heaven. "The pulpit," says Andrew Fuller, "seems an awful place, an opportunity of addressing a company of immortal souls; oh, how important!" The preaching of Jonathan Edwards produced an astounding effect. The people trembled, wept, groaned, and cried out under its influence. Discoursing on the last judgment at Enfield in Connecticut, it seemed as if the next moment the Judge himself would descend in terror and glory. The preaching of Fénelon, it is recorded, was exceedingly effective, though in a very different way. That lofty and ethereal spirit, the St. John of the modern Catholic Church, held intimate fellowship with nature and with God. He saw all things in God, and revelled, with a serene and ineffable delight, in the boundless ocean

of Everlasting Love. His appearance, too, was like that of an angel, so majestic and gracious, and the tones of his voice of a sweet and penetrating melody. Generally, he spoke from a mere outline, or without notes at all; but his lofty spirit was so replenished with thought, and so filled with love, that thoughts, words, images, appeals, gushed out as from a full fountain, while his hearers looked up entranced, tears of grief and joy, the meanwhile, running down their cheeks. It was finely said of Payson, that he prayed right into the heart of God, and then preached right into the hearts of the people. Such was the power and passion of Massillon, that on one occasion, his hearers rose together, and bowed the head in adoration of the Divine Majesty; and on another, started to their feet, in expectation of the last judgment, and the separation of the just from the unjust. The hearers of Robert Hall were often gradually drawn from a sitting to a standing posture, bending forward with eager gaze to catch the words which fell from his lips. A large and grave assembly of divines, lawyers, and others, in New-Haven, wept like children under the burning appeals of Dr. John Mason.

All the characteristics of the highest form of pulpit eloquence meet in Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed orator" of the early church. No preacher, with perhaps a single exception, in modern times has equalled him in the breadth, originality, richness, and practical power of his preaching. His discourses were "born, not made." They were the inspiration and utterance of a full mind, of a fervid heart. His natural gifts and acquirements were equally rare. Endowed with all the learning of the times, sacred and profane; educated by Libanius, the most distinguished rhetorician of his age, whom Julian admired, and Gibbon praised as "the last glory of expiring Paganism;" familiar with the best models of Grecian philosophy and eloquence, familiar especially with the Word of God, which he had studied long years in the schools of the prophets, under the good Bishop Meletius, among holy anchorites in the wilderness, and all alone by himself in a cave among the mountains; profoundly acquainted with human nature, which he had seen, not merely in books, but in his own heart, and amid the teeming myriads of Antioch, the Roman capital of Asia, with its magnificent temples and theatres, and above all its two hundred thousand inhabitants, Greek, Roman, Oriental, and Jewish, with the most singular contrasts both of costume and character; possessing also a naturally keen and fervid mind, combining the fullness and splendor of the East with the vigor and polish of the

West, he was well prepared to appreciate for himself, and to communicate to others, the truth as it is in Jesus. Both in Antioch and in Constantinople the whole community were thrilled with his power. He could preach every day, for weeks, without flagging.* Sometimes he composed his discourses with care, oftener he spoke extemporaneously, or with comparatively brief meditation, though all the time devoted to study and prayer. With some errors of opinion on collateral matters, and some superstitious fancies, his views of God, of Christ, and of human destiny are grand and comprehensive, and his whole soul burning with love and zeal. His language is easy and pliant, sometimes homely and quaint, though mainly rich and picturesque, perhaps diffuse, and occasionally gorgeous.

But the style of preaching in that early age was very different from what it is now. Two or three presbyters often spoke, the one after the other, the bishop summing up the whole. Though greatly revered by the people, the preachers were earnest, familiar, and even vehement. They spoke either from the steps of the altar, or from the *ambo*, a platform with a reading-desk in the centre of the church, sometimes sitting, at others standing, moving about, gesticulating with energy, and pressing towards their hearers as if they would take them by storm. To this the people responded by crowding towards the preacher, and giving vent to their varying emotions by audible signs, so that preacher and people were obviously agitated by the same thought, feeling, and impulse. The discourses were brief and practical, full of energy and pathos. This gave Chrysostom great advantages. Free and familiar, yet devout and dignified, his whole soul on fire, and though ever correct and even elegant in his speech, yet often careless and homely, he permitted the fire to burn pretty much as it pleased, and gave utterance to his high thoughts and fervid emotions in natural but powerful forms, now intense as a seven-heated furnace, and then flashing and blazing like fires among the mountains. Imagine for a moment that dark Syrian visage, lofty forehead, and eagle eye, instinct with the fire of heaven, and a voice of unequalled compass and power, now soft and thrilling as a flute, and then loud and resonant as a trumpet; while the excitable multitude who throng the church of St. Sophia are subdued to reverence and awe, or thrilled to penitence and

* Most of his discourses however were brief and practical homilies, or fervid appeals, not much exceeding fifteen or twenty minutes in length. They rarely go beyond thirty minutes.

tears. Thought, feeling, impulse, utterance, have a common life, a common aim. Soul and body, preacher and people, for the moment, are one. In a word, it is the triumph of spirit and form, of inspiration and eloquence.

Like Plato and Bunyan, Chrysostom is equally at home in the natural and spiritual spheres. Hence the frequency and freshness of his metaphors and similes, in which all things spiritual acquire an outward life and shape, striking and harmonious as nature herself. Thus, to neglect the soul and pamper the body, is to clothe the mistress in sackcloth and array the servant in gold and jewels! The mind of a good man is a palace which he ought sedulously to keep and beautify, thus rendering it more glorious than all external structures. Ignorance of the Scriptures is an awful, headlong steep, a deep abyss. The Word of God is a living fountain by the wayside, in which the dust-soiled traveller may wash and refresh himself. An irritable man he compares to a brawling street, while a peaceful one he likens to a sweet rural solitude. To care for riches and neglect the soul, is to act like children, who, when the thief steals the valuables of the house, cry out because their trinkets are gone! A selfish prayer is like a noisy scold, against which the doors of heaven are shut, while the supplication of meekness and humility is an angel form that seraphs welcome to the throne of God. The conversion of men to the cross of Christ is a miracle of grace, for it is as if to some one tempest-tossed and longing for a haven, you were to show, not a haven, but a wilder portion of the sea; or as if a physician should attract to himself the man that was wounded and in need of remedies, by promising to cure him, not with drugs, but by a fresh and deeper wound. Unbelief is a demon to be thrust down to hell, while faith is a winged angel rising to God and glory. Charity is an industrious bee, twice blessed, because it gathers the sweets from every flower and deposits them in the heart of him that loveth. A charitable man is an open port, receiving the shipwrecked of every nation. A long-suffering one is an impregnable tower, easily beating off all annoyances; "And as a spark falling into the deep doth it no injury, but is itself easily quenched, so upon a long-suffering soul, whatever unexpected thing falls, it speedily vanishes, without ever disturbing the soul."

But we must not dwell longer on Chrysostom, attractive as the subject is; we will linger however a few moments upon that modern Chrysostom, as he has been called, the fervid Chalmers, who in the style of his preaching offers as

striking a combination of spirit and form as can be found in the range of pulpit literature. More analytic than Chrysostom, ranging over a wider field of thought, and indulging in a more compact and systematic style of argument, Chalmers has the same depth and generosity of nature, the same brilliancy of imagination and force of appeal. Never brief and extemporaneous like Chrysostom, and in no case descending to his easy and colloquial style, he sweeps to his aim, with an energy like that of some huge but compact vessel before the blast, dashing, careering, and plunging, but evermore erect and beautiful, and steadily passing to its destination amid the roar and fury of the tempest. Chalmers could do nothing without preparation, and in the wildest whirl of passion kept his eye upon his manuscript, as if he needed this equipoise to prevent his fervor from rushing to extravagance. Like Chrysostom, Chalmers seemed constantly to dwell under the shadow of the Almighty. With all his intellectual energy and splendor, this rugged Scotchman had the heart of a child, which lay throbbing in calm and holy rapture upon the bosom of Infinite Love, whence he came out into the world, his face glowing like that of angel, and gave utterance to the lofty thoughts and emotions gathered in that high converse. With a prodigious grasp of mind and intensity of feeling, he seized the gospel as a boundless blessing, which lifted his own soul into a higher sphere, and filled it with unutterable peace, and knowing that it was intended to bless the world, not by an artificial process, but a Divine transformation, he spake to the people as if, like Barnabas or Paul, he was moved by the Holy Ghost. Indeed he was thus moved. The celestial fire burned within, and his words issued, like lava from the heart of Vesuvius, alive and glowing. Calm at first, yet solemn and majestic, one hand on his manuscript, and the other jerked vehemently towards his audience, he would begin to glow, his voice rising higher and higher, with a quicker and grander sound, and his eye, dull perhaps at first, burning with a smothered light, like fire new kindled in forest depths, but growing brighter and brighter as he proceeded, his whole frame swelling with emotion, soul and body one, and thrown with all their energies into the throbbing effort, yet strong and steady under the control of his iron will, he would pour upon his rapt and astonished audience a tide of eloquence, so vast and overwhelming, that it could be likened to nothing but the "mighty rushing wind" on the day of Pentecost.

Chalmers is far from perfect; indeed he has many faults,

if you judge him from the printed page. His style is none of the purest. It is often awkward and heavy, with a sort of barbaric glare. His reasoning is often imperfect, the critics would say, loose and declamatory. His imagination, though regal and glowing, is limited, and his feeling, generally natural, is sometimes spasmodic and false. In certain qualities he is inferior to many writers and speakers. He can lay no claim to the logic and symmetry of Hall, the philosophic depth of Pascal, or the majestic beauty of Vinet. In strength he must yield to Foster and Barrow; in serene grandeur, to Howe; in mystic and many-colored fancy, as of light streaming through forest glades or painted windows, to Fénelon and Jeremy Taylor.

But this is not the way to judge of Chalmers or of any man as a preacher. In all, defects enough may be found. A sour critic may demolish, in his own view, the noblest structure of fame. To form a just estimate of Chalmers, you must take him as a whole. Character must be taken into account; for it is not the style only, or what men generally call eloquence, which forms its essence, but the source from which it springs. True eloquence, like nature, has always some undefined peculiarity, as it were, some secret presence, which gives to it its native power. The question must not be settled upon abstract grounds, or with reference to details. To appreciate his peculiar power, you must place Chalmers before your mind's eye, and, as one of his audience, listen to the rush and roll of his inspired discourse. At once you feel that a man of God and of genius is speaking to your inmost soul, with an affluence of thought, feeling, and impulse the most rare and wonderful. Indeed, as in all other cases, his eloquence is a true inspiration; that is, the outbirth or utterance of a great and loving spirit, kindled by the breath of the Almighty, and communicated, as by spiritual magnetism, to the receptive souls of his hearers. In a word, the spirit and the form are equally great, and equally one. The light and the lightning are the same. The radiance of the sun is the sun itself.

ART. V.—THE TERRITORIES ON THE PACIFIC.

1. *Report of Hon. T. BUTLER KING to the Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON, Secretary of State.* Washington. 1850.
2. *Sights in the Gold Region, and Scenes by the Way.* By THEODORE T. JOHNSON. Second edition. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1850.
3. *El Dorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire.* By BAYARD TAYLOR, author of "Views A-foot," "Rhymes of Travel," &c. 2 Vols. New-York: George P. Putnam. London: Richard Bentley. 1850.
4. *Three Years in California.* By REV. WALTER COLTON, U. S. N., late Alcalde of Monterey, &c. &c. With illustrations. New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1850.

THE history of the Republic for the past few years has been marked by changes of extraordinary magnitude in the fortunes and condition of the American people. The final settlement of the Oregon dispute with England, the annexation of the Republic of Texas, the war with Mexico, and the discovery of the gold mines of California, are events whose importance it is impossible to over-estimate—whose consequences, for weal or for woe, must continue for ages to affect not only the interests of the United States, but the progress and destiny of civilization itself upon the continent of America. The manner in which some of these events have been brought about, serves very strikingly to illustrate the spirit and character of our people; and the results which we are already experiencing from them, abundantly demonstrate the evil and the good which are so largely intermingled in our social condition. Events of such magnitude always demand the closest scrutiny, and the bearings which they exhibit and the influences which they exert cannot be too carefully watched by those whose character and destiny they are to affect. The lessons they teach and the obligations they impose cannot be too frequently set forth to the popular mind. In the wild excitement of our apparent success, in the hurry of our pauseless progress, in the strife of parties whose organizations now stretch from ocean to ocean, and whose victories are celebrated in nearly forty States and Territories, we are in danger of overlooking the mighty changes which are going on in our character and condition, and of rushing blindly into

that uncertain future which is perpetually dazzling us with its brilliant shadows. It is plain enough that we are no longer the same American people that sat contentedly beneath the administrations of the early Presidents, and regarded the territory between the Atlantic and the Mississippi as presenting "ample room and verge enough" for every enterprise which would ever be required to make us a great and happy nation. Our outward condition has undergone a stupendous change, and our character and habits as a people have been changed not less than our condition.

When the treaty with France was signed at Paris in 1803, which secured to the United States the possession of Louisiana, and first extended our territory across the Mississippi, the commissioners of the two countries, on the completion of their duties, arose from their seats, and taking each other by the hand, expressed their mutual congratulations at the happy conclusion of a negotiation which had made that broad and beautiful domain the perpetual heritage of republican freedom. "We have lived long," exclaimed Mr. Livingston, one of the American negotiators—"we have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art, or dictated by force. Equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day, the United States take their place among powers of the first rank, and the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America." Not less enthusiastic was Napoleon himself, then at the head of the government of France, in the full career of his conquests. As he gave his sanction to the treaty which thus ceded away from the dominion of France her possessions in the Western world, and reflected on the part he had borne in the transaction, he exclaimed, "I have now given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride and undermine her power."

The purchase of Louisiana was admitted by Mr. Jefferson to be an act unauthorized by the Constitution, but it was pregnant with momentous results, whose gradual development will continue to excite the wonder of many successive generations. The anticipations which led to it have been more than realized in the abundant benefits which have been derived from the possession of the luxuriant valleys of the West, and especially from the undisputed navigation, which it secured to our people, of those gigantic rivers that drain the most fertile regions of the continent. The possession of these magnificent regions has long ago ceased to be regarded

with doubt or distrust, and is now universally looked upon as essential to the prosperity and glory of the Republic. Other districts might have been dispensed with, other negotiations might have terminated in failure, but the purchase of Louisiana is now everywhere pronounced to have been most fortunate, and the treaty by which it was secured is blazoned in history as the greatest achievement of the administration under whose authority it was negotiated. This purchase, it was confidently affirmed, had given to the United States a territory more than adequate to their utmost growth. The national ambition seemed for the time to be fully satisfied, and the people from every portion of the Union entered with patriotic pride and hope into the magnificent possession which they had thus easily acquired.

But the additions which have since been made to the American domain, by purchase, by annexation, and by conquest, have cast into the shade even the brilliant acquisition of Louisiana, and have stimulated the passion for territorial aggrandizement to a degree which renders it a fearful and most dangerous element in our national character. On the South, Florida has been purchased of Spain and erected into a State of giant dimensions, and the Republic of Texas, by her own free act, has surrendered her independent sovereignty and added her broad territory of nearly 400,000 square miles to our all-embracing confederacy; while on the western frontier, far beyond the uncertain boundaries of the Louisiana purchase, the sway of the American Government extends for many a weary league, over mountain and prairie, over sierra and desert, to the distant shores of the Pacific, and comprehends a territory more than one half as large as all that is embraced within the thirty nearer States of the Union. The events which have secured this gigantic domain have followed each other in a succession so rapid, that no one of them by itself stands out in its true proportions, or is now capable of making upon the public mind the impression which its importance really demands. The convention which was signed at Washington in 1846, and which fixed the boundary of Oregon, secured to the United States the undisputed possession of a territory of nearly 350,000 square miles, with a coast on the Pacific of 650 miles in length. The annexation of Texas added 390,000 square miles more, with a coast on the Mexican Gulf of more than 400 miles in extent, while by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which terminated the recent war with Mexico, there was ceded to the Republic a territory of 590,000 square miles, with an ocean front on the

Pacific of 900 miles in length. Territorial acquisitions, so stupendous as these, all made within the brief space of five years—from 1843 to 1848—and containing, it is said, an area equal to that of all Europe excepting the empire of Russia, may very naturally excite the pride and dazzle the imagination of the people whose property they have become. The influence which they have exerted and are still exerting, is everywhere seen in the boundless confidence which they have awakened in what is vaguely termed our national destiny, and in the intense desire of territorial extension which they have excited, but which they have not even begun to satiate. This desire seems to be the natural and invariable growth of republican institutions, and its gratification is always fraught with serious perils to their safety and their permanence. It has already become one of the controlling elements of our national character, and now promises to exert a fearful influence in shaping the future policy of the Government, and the future fortunes of the people. It has hitherto found for itself a full and easy gratification in the unoccupied territories which stretch on every side around us; and though most of these territories, save where the lion of England has planted his foot, are now included within the limits of the United States, yet the passion for territorial extension remains in undiminished strength. It is even now planning new enterprises of foreign conquest, and agitating new schemes of domestic policy and sectional equilibrium. The feebler races that people the southern portions of the continent have proved themselves unable to cope with the inherent energy and prowess of the Anglo-Americans, and the experience of the past few years but too plainly indicates what must inevitably be the result of any future collision which may arise between them and the giant Republic of the North.

Even during the past summer, and almost while we have been writing these pages, an illustration of this most offensive and dangerous element in our national spirit has presented itself in the mad expedition which has been organized in one of our Southwestern States against the Island of Cuba, with the avowed design of wresting this "Queen of the Antilles" from the possession of Spain, and erecting it into an independent republic, and ultimately of effecting its annexation to the United States. This expedition was indeed headed by a recent inhabitant of the island, but to the shame of the American name, it must be confessed, that it was composed of citizens of the United States, and was organized and equipped

within our own waters, and beneath the protection of our own flag. The whole affair has proved a signal and most miserable failure, and its authors and leaders have received the rebukes and contempt of the whole country; but there still remains the most significant fact, that in a time of profound peace, in defiance of the solemn pledges of treaties and the stern majesty of laws, a ruthless and predatory invasion of the province of a foreign State has thus been undertaken by intelligent men, many of them lately officers of the American army, and has been sanctioned by citizens who are even now in eminent positions in the Republic. It indicates but too plainly the tendency of the popular mind, and is mysteriously ominous of new agitations and dangers, of new machinations and crimes, from which the lover of his country and the lover of right turns away in sorrow and disgust. This wretched "Cuban hunt," with all its freebooting chiefs and managers, is already passing to the contemptuous forgetfulness which it deserves; but the spirit in which it had its origin, unless it receive some effectual check, will only display itself in new endeavors, till at length success will crown the enterprise, and secure for it the plaudits of a people who, we are sorry to be obliged to confess, are always too easily dazzled by splendid crimes and triumphant wrongs.

We turn however from the other territories over which the flag of the Union now floats in triumph, to those which border on the Pacific, and towards which the tide of emigration is now setting with a fullness and force unequalled in the history even of this newly peopled continent. The events which have lately taken place on those distant shores have arrested the attention of every nation, and have drawn together from the four quarters of the globe a hardy and vigorous population, to lay there the foundations of mighty States, and plant the germs of a new civilization. The spectacle which is there presented is one of unparalleled interest and grandeur. When before in the history of mankind have there arisen, within a period so brief, social organizations of such magnitude and importance, embracing such varied resources, embodying so much wealth and enterprise, so much intellectual power and civic experience, as are combined in these latest-born offspring of the Republic that have cradled themselves amid the murmurs of the Pacific? The dreams of romance have been more than realized in the sober facts of their recent history; and their progress from unpeopled solitudes to republican provinces would transcend the limits of credulity anywhere but among a people accustomed to the

marvellous transformations which the American continent alone has presented.

Let us briefly advert to the changes through which they have passed since they were first visited by civilized men, and consider some of the leading facts in their present condition. We begin with California, which, though younger than Oregon in her relations to the United States, is yet far older in her history, and at the present time occupies a far more conspicuous position.

Alta California, or the territory now organized as a State and just admitted a member of the Union, lies between the thirty-second and the forty-second parallels of north latitude, and stretches from the Pacific eastward to the Sierra Nevada. Its extent, from south to north in a direct line, is about six hundred miles; and from west to east, on an average, not far from one hundred and seventy-five miles; while its whole area is upwards of a hundred thousand square miles in extent. Its history commences with some of the earliest voyages which were made upon the Pacific by the Spanish discoverers and subjugators of America; and the few incidents that serve to diversify its progress till it became a portion of the territory of the United States, are such as sprang from the daring adventures of the heroic race who once seemed destined to be the possessors and rulers of the New World.

The Pacific was first discovered, from the mountains of Panama, in 1513, by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the Governor of the Spanish colony of Darien, and it was first entered from the south in 1520, by Magellan, who sailed through the straits now bearing his name, and, coasting along the shores of South America, reached the settlements of Darien, and thence pursued his course westward to India. The new ocean which was thus opened to the adventurous conquerors of Mexico and Peru immediately became the scene of their most daring enterprises and achievements. Rival Governors vied with each other in extending their dominions both to the south and to the north; and, ere half the sixteenth century had elapsed, the shores of the Pacific had become more widely known than those of the Atlantic to the daring voyagers from Portugal and Spain. The latter, so far as they were explored, received the name of Florida, while the former, to the north of the province of Mexico or New Spain, became designated as California,—a name the origin of which has long been the subject of speculation, but whose real signification is still involved in uncertainty.

That portion of the Pacific coast which is now included in the territory of the United States, was first visited by Europeans in 1543, in an expedition of two ships, furnished by Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, and commanded by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator of great celebrity. This expedition, though abandoned by its commander, who sank under the fatigues of the voyage before its objects were accomplished, pursued its way along the northern shores of the Pacific to a point somewhere above the fortieth parallel of latitude, and entered most of the bays and harbors which indent the coast of what is now the State of California. The observations of these voyagers very largely extended the territories belonging to the Crown of Spain; but they served to repress the hope which had before been entertained, that there might be discovered a passage connecting the two broad oceans that were now known to wash the shores of the continent.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century, both these oceans were made the scene of universal pillage and piracy, and the sanguinary freebooter from every nation of Europe ranged their unprotected solitudes, beneath the flag of his country, to destroy the commerce and plunder the ships of every people but his own. In 1577 an expedition of this character set sail from Plymouth, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, the most renowned English navigator of his age. The expedition was originally composed of five small vessels, equipped at private expense, though not without the connivance of Queen Elizabeth and her Government, ostensibly for a trading voyage to Egypt, but in reality for a predatory cruise against the commerce of Spain and her colonies in America. For several months Drake roved the Atlantic with but little opportunity for plunder. At length, however, in September, 1578, he entered the Pacific, and was the first of his countrymen who sailed through the Straits of Magellan. Scarcely had he spread his sails to the breezes of the western ocean, when his squadron was dispersed by a storm, and he was left with only a single schooner of a hundred tons burthen to prosecute his enterprise against the colonial possessions of the Spanish sovereign in America. With this insignificant armament, he was the first to bear the flag of England over the then untraversed Pacific. He ranged the coast from Patagonia to Mexico; and, finding the settlements everywhere unprepared for resistance, he levied upon them heavy contributions, and made their richest merchandise the prey of his reckless piracies. So deep was the

impression which he left in the colonies at which he touched, that his fearful depredations became associated with the traditions of the people, and the name of Drake continued for more than a century a word of terror to the inhabitants of the coast. His little vessel was soon laden with the rich spoils he had taken by sea and by land; and, apprehending that his passage through the Straits of Magellan would be resisted by a Spanish fleet, he determined to find his way back by the northern passage which had been supposed to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic. It was in his search for this passage, that he is said to have sailed along the northwestern coast of America as far as the forty-eighth parallel of latitude, or nearly to the northern boundary of what is now the Territory of Oregon. Here he found the cold so intense as to deter him from prosecuting his voyage further north, and, changing his course, he sailed southward, and entered a broad and beautiful bay, whose description answers well to that of San Francisco. He gave the name of New-Albion to the countries which he visited; and after refitting his vessel and recruiting his men, he returned to England by sailing westward, through the Indian seas and around the Cape of Good Hope,—being the first navigator who, in a single vessel, had sailed round the world.

The colonization of these northern shores of the Pacific remained nearly stationary from the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. Spain seemed contented with the possessions which she had already acquired; and, though the success of Drake sent forth here and there an adventurer from England who reached these distant coasts, the attention of the English, as well as of the other maritime nations of Europe, soon became exclusively directed to the discovery of the long-sought channel between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The search for this Arctic channel gave rise to many of the most brilliant discoveries of the centuries mentioned above, and in later times it has stimulated many a daring voyager to encounter hardships and perils such as were to be met on no other sea. It early immortalized the names of Behring, Baffin, Hudson, and Davis, while, in our own times, it has proved the avenue to distinction of Barrow, Richardson, and Ross, and has secured a melancholy though perennial fame for the gallant and ill-fated Franklin. The expeditions which were fitted out for this purpose, however, though they sailed along the shores of the New World, did little or nothing towards peopling the vast territories which they passed. They often served to excite the apprehensions

of Spain, who at that time was still taking the lead in the colonization of America, lest they would descend upon her possessions and wrest them from her grasp. But though she made several attempts to establish colonies in the districts north of Mexico, they were attended with but slight success, and it was not till 1769 that Alta California began to be occupied by civilized men.

The aboriginal inhabitants who were found along that coast are described as being in the lowest condition of barbarism, and it was in the hope of extending to them the influences of the Christian religion that the earliest settlements were planted by the Jesuit Fathers, in Peninsular, or Southern California. In 1767, however, the Jesuits were expelled from New-Mexico, and the missions which they had been conducting for upwards of sixty years passed into the hands of the Dominican Friars, while the colonization of the upper province, or Alta-California, was assigned to the brethren of the Franciscan order. These self-denying men—bound to poverty by the rules of their society—as early as 1779, within ten years after their arrival in the country, had conciliated the good-will of the natives, and gathered them in considerable numbers around the missions which they had planted along the coast, from San Diego to San Francisco. These missions were generally established at the expense of the Spanish Crown, and large tracts of territory were placed under their authority, so that each became the political ruler as well as the civilizer of the region in which it was planted. These establishments were designed for the occupation of the country, and for a long time were the only settlements which it contained. They usually consisted of a church, with a few rude buildings, which were used as dwellings of the priests, as stores and work-houses for the natives. The lands in the neighborhood were divided into farms, and cultivated by those Indians who were willing to adopt the customs of civilized life, and in this manner the members of the mission received their slender support. The Franciscans who thus settled in California were, for the most part, plain, unlettered men, taken from the humbler ranks of society in Spain, and wholly free from the ambition and fondness for political intrigue which have generally characterized the order of Jesuits. Remote from the seats of power and hidden from the observation of the world, they appear to have devoted themselves, with the true heroism of the missionary, to the ungrateful and cheerless task of reclaiming from barbarism a race that seems by general consent to have taken

the lowest rank among the inhabitants of the continent. Their success was certainly greater than might have been reasonably expected, amidst the difficult circumstances and in the barren fields in which they conducted their lifelong labors. They bestowed their most careful attention upon the native children; obtaining them from their parents while yet at a tender age, in some instances by persuasion, but not unfrequently by purchase or by force, they trained them to industry, and to the customs of civilized life. These children were watched over with the utmost care, and at a suitable age were permitted to leave the mission, if they desired, and receive a piece of ground for independent cultivation. Comparatively few, however, would avail themselves of the permission, and those who did, finding themselves removed from the care and guidance of their accustomed guardians, sank into indolence and stupidity, or returned to the barbarism of their native wilds. So wide-spread did the impression at length become, of the changes which were wrought by a residence at the missions, that those who accepted the freedom which was offered them, or who escaped from the care of the priests, were often sent back by the barbarians, as no longer able to lead the free and roving life of the forest.

In connection with each of the missions was also established a *presidio*, or small fort, which was usually garrisoned with a guard of cavalry to protect the mission and its occupants from the depredations of the neighboring Indians. The soldiers, who were few in number, when not employed in specific military duty, aided the priests in superintending the labors of the *people of reason*, as the neophytes were called, to distinguish them from the gentile Indians, or those who did not place themselves under the care of the missionaries. Over each mission was placed one of the Franciscan Fathers, who ruled the entire settlement with an absolute though mild and benignant authority, and whose character and policy were strongly impressed upon the growth and progress of the community. Nearly the whole territory of what is now known as California was originally divided among the missions, which were regarded as a species of municipal corporations, and exercised a nominal jurisdiction over a district that extended far beyond the immediate sphere of their labors. Before the year 1793, thirteen missions of the character which we have described, had been established in different parts of the country, and had received large grants of land from the Crown of Spain. Though each one seems to have been independent in matters of local policy and juris-

diction, they were all subject to the general authority of the civil Governor, who presided over the entire province,—who decided the questions of policy or of right which arose between different missions, and between missions and individuals, or concerning the tribes of gentile Indians.

In this manner, by a combination of ecclesiastical, political, and military authority, was the early colonization of California commenced and carried forward. The system in several of its features was peculiar to Spain: for though managed by ecclesiastics, and embracing arrangements for the teaching of Christianity to the natives, its ultimate design, as was then avowed, and as its subsequent history has abundantly proved, was the establishment of Spanish power in that distant province. So remote was its situation and so unfriendly were its climate and soil then supposed to be, that but few emigrants were ever tempted to its unfrequented shores, and it might have long remained unoccupied, had it not been for the pious zeal of the mendicant monks of the Order of St. Francis. During the early part of the present century, they multiplied their missions to the number of twenty-seven. Though they bore no part in the revolutions to which the province was subjected, they readily acquiesced in the changes that were effected on the establishment of the Republic of Mexico: they acknowledged the new jurisdiction, and quietly transferred to it their unqualified allegiance. At the period of the recent cession of the territory to the United States, the number of the missions was nominally twenty-one; several of them, however, had been *secularized* and converted into ordinary towns, others had by purchase become the property of individuals, and others still were wholly unoccupied. The number of converted Indians in 1822, was estimated at twenty-two thousand, exclusive of a large number of Gentiles, who lived upon the mission-lands, and were to some extent under the care of the missionaries. Since that period, large numbers of the Franciscans have left the country, and several missions have become extinct. The number of Catholic Indians has in consequence greatly declined: so that, according to an official Report* recently submitted to the government, it does not now exceed four thousand. People from other portions of Spanish America and from Spain itself, also settled themselves in the country at an early period; and under the influence of the commerce which they carried on, many a flourishing town has sprung up around what was at first a

* Report on Land Titles in California, made to the Secretary of the Interior, by William Carey Jones. Mr. J. states that in 1842 the number was 4,450, and that the process of reduction has been going on rapidly since.

lonely mission, planted amid the solitude of an uninhabited coast. The Indians, however, are indebted to the unobtrusive labors of the Franciscans, for all the civilization and Christianity they have ever acquired; and among the perishing memorials of Spanish or of Mexican power that the country still contains, the scattered ruins of the missions, planted long ago by the generous toils of these pious men, are the only ones which awaken the associations of philanthropy or the sentiment of respect. They are monuments of a zeal which, however it may have been blinded with the superstitions of a corrupted Church, may well excite the emulation of the professors of a purer faith who have now taken possession of the country, and summon them, for the honor of Protestantism and for the good of man, to renew and carry forward the pious labors which were thus nobly begun.

During the long period which has elapsed since the establishment of these missions and the first occupation of the country by Spain, California has several times been the scene of transient revolutions and the arena in which adventurous ambition has acquired a shortlived power. The changes, however, which have passed over it, have generally been unimportant, and have scarcely disturbed the monotonous current of its history. Its ports on the Pacific became marts of a limited commerce in hides and bullock's fat; but its territory was but imperfectly explored, and its exhaustless mineral wealth remained wholly unknown. Its population has increased but slowly, and was never large enough to secure for it any political importance in the Republic to which it belonged. In 1836, its inhabitants, who were then not more than five thousand in number, attempted a separation from Mexico, and for this purpose organized an independent government; but after continuing the experiment for a few months, they voluntarily abandoned their expensive but valueless independence, and returned to their allegiance to the parent State.

The course of events, however, was rapidly preparing to give a new phase to the character and destiny of this hitherto neglected province. Its coast was visited by the United States' Exploring Expedition, under Captain Wilkes, in 1841, and its most capacious harbor, which had long been a resort for American ships in the Pacific, was minutely examined. The attention of the government began to be directed to the western shores of the continent, and the popular mind was already anticipating the time when those shores would be lined with crowded cities, the marts of a wide-spread commerce, the seats of opulence, refinement and power. The naval commanders

in the Western Ocean were instructed to maintain a ceaseless watch over the fortunes of the country, and the policy pursued by other nations respecting it, and to guard with jealous care every interest belonging to the citizens of the United States who might visit it for the purpose of trade or to settle within its limits. The final settlement of the north-western boundary, and the organization of the Territory of Oregon, in the summer of 1848, removed every obstruction from the path of westward emigration, and opened to multitudes of caravans the long and dreary trail, that winds for two thousand miles through desolate prairies, over lofty mountain ranges, from the valley of the Mississippi to the shores of the Pacific. This trail, which had hitherto been known to few save the hunters and trappers of the Rocky Mountains, was soon crowded with emigrants to the territories of the west, and became the pathway by which empire and civilization were to achieve their triumphant progress across the continent of America. Of these emigrant bands, the greater part directed their steps to Oregon, but many still found their way to the unoccupied districts of California and settled in considerable numbers along the broad and fertile valley of the Sacramento. In this manner, the number of American citizens who were living in the country in the year 1845 was estimated at two thousand, while its entire white population did not exceed ten thousand. Many of them were now *rancheros*, possessing extensive estates; and distinguished as they generally were, for their industry, enterprise and thrift, they naturally became objects of envy and jealousy to the narrow-minded and suspicious Spaniards by whom they were surrounded.

The causes were thus in operation, which, even without the intervention of other agencies, must sooner or later have given a new aspect to the fortunes of California, and ultimately have secured it to the possession and government of the Anglo-American race. In the summer of 1846, a collision arose between the residents from the United States and the military rulers of the country, which immediately resulted in a general rising of the Americans, who were determined to protect themselves by their own right arms against the injuries threatened by the Mexican authorities. The insurrection appears to have received the sanction and co-operation of Colonel J. C. Fremont, who was then encamped in the valley of the Sacramento, at the head of an exploring party from the United States. The American insurgents took possession of the military post at the town of Sonoma and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the district, inviting them to join their

standard and to overthrow the military despotism that was crushing their energies and blighting their prosperity. Several conflicts ensued, in which the Californians were always defeated, when the tidings were received, that the war with Mexico had already begun; that Commodore Sloat had hoisted the flag of the United States at Monterey and San Francisco, and that California had passed forever from the dominion of the Mexican republic. The breaking out of the war at this particular juncture was a fortunate occurrence for the insurgents, for it immediately identified their cause with that of their country, and brought to their protection and support the forces of the squadron which had possession of the coast and those of "the Army of the West," under the command of General Kearney, which was hastening across the continent, from the confines of the United States. California was immediately overrun by the American troops, and at the close of the year 1846, the flag of the Union floated in triumph over every town and every military post in the entire Territory.

But though the country had become a portion of the United States, its outward appearance gave no omen of the amazing changes that were soon to take place in its condition, or of the singular prominence which it was about to assume before the eyes of the world. The treaty of peace with Mexico, which confirmed its possession to the American government, had been signed at Guadaloupe Hidalgo, and out of the white population within its limits, numbering some thirteen or fourteen thousand people, there were now probably four or five thousand citizens of the United States. The military occupation of the territory still continued, and constituted the only government which the national legislators who were assembled at Washington, in their wisdom, thought it necessary to provide for a province, which could then be reached only by a march across three thousand miles of prairies and mountains, or by a voyage of some ten thousand around the stormiest Cape on which either the Atlantic or the Pacific is known to beat. It was in this state of Californian affairs that the first discovery of gold was made, on a fine morning, near the end of May or the beginning of June 1848, by some workmen at Sutter's Mill, situated on one of the forks of the American river. That morning's discovery was destined to effect greater changes in the condition of the country than all the revolutions which had been recorded in its previous history, and to hasten forward the destinies of the Pacific coast more rapidly than all else that had happened since it was first visited by civilized man. Though there had long been an impression

that the mountains of California contained veins of gold, its discovery seems at length to have been purely accidental. The region had often been travelled and explored with the scrutiny of science, and was daily trodden by the very persons to whom the revelation was finally made; but it was only in their chance digging of a trench at the mill, that they threw from their spades the golden earth which disclosed the treasures that lay concealed beneath their feet. Intelligence of the discovery flew with unparalleled rapidity to every part of the habitable globe; and it is probable, has imparted an active impulse to a greater number of human minds than any other single event which belongs to the nineteenth century. Long before the earliest ships had sailed from the ports of the Atlantic, the tidings had spread far along the shores of the western ocean and among the islands that rest upon its bosom; everywhere exciting the passion for gold, alike among barbarian and civilized people, among the dwellers upon the land, and the restless rovers of the sea. Stimulated by the all-absorbing passion—the *auri sacra fames*—which has so often ruled the actions of men, there were soon gathered at the *Placeres* of the Sacramento and its branches, the representatives of tribes and nations never thrown into such juxtaposition before. Mingled with the inhabitant of California and with emigrants from Oregon, there were sailors from every clime, who had left their ships to ride idly in the bay—there were Mexicans, fresh from the bloody fields of recent war, and still breathing their unextinguished hatred of the American name—Peruvians and Chilians from the distant shores of Southern America—Sandwich Islanders, from the far solitudes of the Pacific—and crowds of untamed Indians from the deserts of the Sierra Nevada—all drawn together by the common passion with which their natures had been suddenly fired. The promiscuous gatherings of these heterogeneous elements presented a scene such as had probably never before been witnessed. It was a society in the process of formation, from materials the most discordant, and in circumstances the most extraordinary. There were Christians and Pagans, Catholics and Protestants, barbarians and men in every grade of civilization, all strangely mingled together on a remote and unfrequented shore, without laws and almost without rulers, amidst the garners of boundless wealth, yet in want of the commonest comforts of civilized life. The Americans were for a long time vastly in the minority; and it was not till nearly a year had passed over the motley scene that the emigrants from the United States began to pour into the country in any considerable numbers. At length, however,

they came in countless bands, across the western prairies and mountains, over the Isthmus of Panama, through the lately hostile States of Mexico, and around the tempestuous Cape of the Southern Ocean, bringing with them the restless enterprise, the determined energy, the industrious habits, and, withal, the law-abiding spirit which so generally characterize the American people. Their ascendancy was immediately established beyond all controversy and forever, and from the chaos and confusion, there began to arise the fabric of social order and the image of public authority. The mines yielded their golden products, mercantile houses were established on the most extensive scale, cities sprang up with the rapidity of enchantment, commerce brought together its multitudinous traffickers from every clime, and California, with a constitution of her own, leaped at a single bound from the condition of a semi-civilized and almost uninhabited province, to the dignity of a sovereign State, occupied by an hundred and fifty thousand people. So rapid were these changes, so unexampled this social progress, that the tidings of them had scarcely been received at Washington, when her Senators and Representatives appeared at the Capitol, and demanded her admission to the Union, on an equality with the oldest and proudest of her sisters. Her demand, though long delayed by the unhappy sectional divisions which have prevailed in the national councils, has at length been granted. While we have been writing these pages, a bill to this effect, after nine months of agitation and debate, has passed both Houses of Congress, and has received the signature of the President of the United States. To the inexpressible joy of the American people, the rock has been avoided and the danger passed; and this first born daughter of the Pacific, already consecrated to perpetual freedom, will now assume a lofty position in the still undivided, and, we trust, indivisible Union.

The details of the stirring events to which we have thus referred, and the statistics that illustrate them, have been often described, and are fully set forth in the several volumes whose titles we have placed at the head of this article. The most valuable of these volumes are the elaborate "Report of Hon. T. Butler King," the sprightly "Sketches of Mr. Bayard Taylor," and the work, just issued from the press, by Rev. Walter Colton, late Alcade of Monterey, whose connection with the United States' Squadron upon the coast, and with the civil government of one of the principal cities of the country, has made him thoroughly acquainted with all the interesting scenes and events that have been crowded into its recent history.

These works are undoubtedly the best which have been published concerning California, and, each in a different manner, they furnish a vast amount of agreeable and valuable information respecting this new found El Dorado. Mr. Colton's "Three Years in California," in addition to its spirited narrative of the author's adventures and observations, contains in its closing chapters an account of the several missions established in the country, and of the principal cities that lie along the coast. The official Report of Mr. King is filled with statesmanlike observations and with minute and accurate statistics; while the volumes of Mr. Taylor describe the aspects of the country and its peculiar phases of humanity as they presented themselves to the practised eye of the sprightly and much-travelled tourist. As a specimen of his manner in these "Sketches," and as presenting an animated and interesting scene in the history of the new State, we extract the following from the chapter entitled,

"THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE CONVENTION."

"The members met this morning at the usual hour, to perform the last duty that remained to them—that of signing the Constitution. They were all in the happiest humor, and the morning was so bright and balmy that no one seemed disposed to call an organization. Mr. Semple was sick, and Mr. Steuart, of San Francisco, therefore called the meeting to order by moving Capt. Sutter's appointment in his place. The Chair was taken by the old pioneer, and the members took their seats around the sides of the hall, which still retained the pine-trees and banners, left from last night's decorations. The windows and doors were open, and a delightful breeze came in from the Bay, whose blue waters sparkled in the distance. The view from the balcony in front was bright and inspiring. The town below—the shipping in the harbor—the pine-covered hills behind—were mellowed by the blue October haze, but there was no cloud in the sky, and I could plainly see, on the northern horizon, the mountains of Santa Cruz and the Sierra de Gavilan.

"After the minutes had been read, the Committee appointed to draw up an Address to the people of California was called upon to report, and Mr. Steuart, chairman, read the Address. Its tone and sentiment met with universal approval, and it was adopted without a dissenting voice. A resolution was then offered to pay Lieut. Hamilton, who is now engaged in engrossing the Constitution upon parchment, the sum of \$500 for his labor. This magnificent prize, probably the highest ever paid for a similar service, is on a par with all things else in California. As this was their last session the members were not disposed to find fault with it, especially when it was stated by one of them that Lieut. Hamilton had written day and night to have it ready, and was still working upon it, though with a lame and swollen hand. The sheet for the signers' names was ready, and the Convention decided to adjourn for half an hour and then meet for the purpose of signing.

"I amused myself during the interval by walking about the town. Everybody knew that the Convention was about closing, and it was generally

understood that Capt. Burton had loaded the guns at the fort, and would fire a salute of thirty-one guns at the proper moment. The citizens, therefore, as well as the members, were in an excited mood. Monterey never before looked so bright, so happy, so full of pleasant expectation.

"About one o'clock, the Convention met again; few of the members, indeed, had left the hall. Mr. Semple, although in feeble health, called them to order, and after having voted Gen. Riley a salary of \$10,000, and Mr. Halleck, Secretary of State, \$6,000 a year, from the commencement of their respective offices, they proceeded to affix their names to the completed Constitution. At this moment a signal was given; the American colors ran up the flag-staff in front of the Government buildings, and streamed out on the air. A second afterward, the first gun boomed from the fort, and its stirring echoes came back from one hill after another, till they were lost in the distance.

"All the native enthusiasm of Capt. Sutter's Swiss blood was aroused; he was the old soldier again. He sprang from his seat, and waving his hand around his head, as if swinging a sword, exclaimed: 'Gentlemen, this is the happiest day of my life. It makes me glad to hear those cannon: they remind me of the time when I was a soldier. Yes, I am glad to hear them—this is a great day for California!' Then, recollecting himself, he sat down, the tears streaming from his eyes. The members with one accord, gave three tumultuous cheers, which were heard from one end of the town to the other. As the signing went on, gun followed gun from the fort, the echoes reverberating grandly around the bay, till finally as the loud ring of the *thirty-first* was heard, there was a shout: 'That's for California!' and every one joined in giving three times three for the new star added to our Confederation.

"Thus closes the Convention; and I cannot help saying, with Capt. Sutter, that the day which sees laid the broad and liberal foundation of a free and independent State on the shores of the Pacific, is a great day for California. As an American, I feel proud and happy—proud, that the Empire of the West, the commerce of the great Pacific, the new highway to the Indies, forming the last link in that belt of civilized enterprise which now clasps the world, has been established under my country's flag; and happy, that in all the extent of California, from the glittering snows of the Shaste to the burning deserts of the Colorado, no slave shall ever lift his arm to make the freedom of that flag a mockery.

"The members of the Convention may have made some blunders in the course of their deliberations; there may be some objectionable clauses in the Constitution they have framed. But where was there ever a body convened under such peculiar circumstances?—where was ever such harmony evolved out of so wonderful, so dangerous, so magnificent a chaos? The elements of which the Convention was composed were no less various, and in some respects antagonistic, than those combined in the mining population. The questions they had to settle were often perplexing, from the remarkable position of the country and the absence of all precedent. Besides, many of them were men unused to legislation. Some had for years past known no other life than that of the camp; others had nearly forgotten all law in the wild life of the mountains; others again were familiar only with that practised under the rule of a different race. Yet the courtesies of debate have never been wantonly violated, and the result of every conflict of opinion has been a quiet acquiescence on the part of the minority. Now, at the conclusion, the only feeling is that of general joy and congratulation.

"Thus, we have another splendid example of the ease and security with which people can be educated to govern themselves. From that

chaos whence, under the rule of a despotism like the Austrian, would spring the most frightful excesses of anarchy and crime, a population of freemen peacefully and quietly develops the highest form of civil order—the broadest extent of liberty and security. Governments, bad and corrupt as many of them are, and imperfect as they all must necessarily be, nevertheless at times exhibit scenes of true moral sublimity. What I have to-day witnessed has so impressed me; and were I a believer in omens, I would augur from the tranquil beauty of this evening—from the clear sky and the lovely sunset hues on the waters of the bay—more than all, from the joyous expression of every face I see—a glorious and prosperous career for the STATE OF CALIFORNIA.”

These hopes and views, the events which have lately transpired in California, and, still more, the vote by which she has been admitted into the Union, and is now a member of the great American confederacy, have all tended to confirm. Never perhaps has a sovereign State entered upon a career of such brilliant promise. The auguries are all propitious; and her people must be heedless of their advantages, and faithless to themselves, if they do not speedily secure for her a character that shall make her elder sisters proud of their association with the golden-haired daughter of the Pacific. Her commercial prosperity we regard as already secure, and if, as her population extends, the towns that are springing up on every headland and by every mountain stream, are planted in the principles of Christian morality—the principles that have given to the Atlantic States their social stability and energy—she cannot fail to reach a destiny such as Providence has granted to no other people.

If from the State of California, we turn to the neighboring Territory of Oregon, we meet with a society scarcely less interesting in its process of formation, and look forward upon prospects scarcely less attractive, opening before us through the shadowy vistas of the distant future. Magnificent as are the promises which are now held forth by the new State, we are not sure but they are destined to be eclipsed by those of the adjacent Territory. Placed in a higher latitude, its climate is more favorable to hardy energy and stern virtue; and though it has no golden mountains to kindle the avarice of the emigrant, and draw to its shores a tumultuous throng of restless adventurers, it yet contains within itself abundant resources to reward the labors of quiet industry, and to furnish to a teeming population the materials for abundant wealth. Gold-bearing countries have seldom exhibited the greatest prosperity, or attained the highest eminences in social stability, or in Christian civilization. We have no apprehension that the new State upon the shores of the Pacific is des-

tinued to realize only the evanescent glory which once belonged to Mexico and Peru, yet we confess that our strongest hopes even for her, are founded on the advantages which belong to her position in the great highway of the race from the western to the eastern world, and on the facilities which she presents for commerce and art, for regular industry, and for continued social advancement. Many of these facilities and advantages, however, belong no less to Oregon than to California; while her climate, more friendly alike to physical and mental vigor—her soil, more varied and richer in all the resources of agricultural production, and her geographical features more favorable to easy and rapid intercommunication—all combine in pointing to her as by far the most desirable field for western emigration and settlement, and as the future seat of American empire on the Pacific.

The shores of this distant territory were visited in the sixteenth century, first by Cabrillo, in 1543, who ascended to the forty-fourth parallel of latitude; afterwards, in 1582, by Guelli, who is said to have pushed his researches as far as the fifty-seventh degree, and still later by De Fuca, who, in 1598, entered the straits now bearing his name, in latitude 49°. Like the neighboring territory of California, it was little frequented by voyagers from Europe during the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries; but in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the English obtained their first permanent footing upon the coast, and commenced that occupation of the territory which was fully terminated only by the convention which was signed at Washington, in June, 1846. In 1787, the first expedition from the United States to the Northwestern coast of America was fitted out by a trading company at Boston, under the sanction of the general government. It was composed of two vessels, the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, and was placed under the command of Captain Robert Gray, who, after visiting the coast and entering several of its harbors for the purpose of establishing a traffic with the natives, returned to Boston by way of China. He soon afterwards made a second voyage with the same vessels, in the course of which he discovered and entered the river now known as the *Columbia*—a name which he assigned to it from the ship in which he sailed. It was this discovery of Captain Gray's—which unquestionably preceded those made by any other navigator—that constituted one of the principal grounds of the claim which the United States soon began to make to the broad and beautiful territory, the possession of which has since so often been a bone of contention

between several different nations, and which has at length, by a series of fortunate occurrences, become a portion of our own domain.

From the period of these earliest visits to the territory of Oregon, up to the convention of 1846, its history has been comparatively unimportant; and the joint occupation by England and the United States, to which it was so long subjected, made it the hunting-ground of the trapper and the Indian, rather than the permanent home of the industrious settler. This condition of its affairs, however, has now passed away, never to return, and a new population, accustomed to the labors of agriculture and the arts of civilized life, is rapidly spreading itself over its wide plains and along the fertile valleys of its winding rivers. Its harbors, which until recently were thought to be few and small, are found to be sufficiently numerous and capacious for all the exigencies of an extended commerce; and the people who are settling within its borders, brought thither by no feverish thirst for gold, but relying on the sure results of unremitting industry, are proving themselves the worthy descendants of those heroic men, who, in long succession, through the changes of the last half century, have pioneered the westward march of American civilization, from the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson, across the continent, to the shores of the Pacific.

Rising thus in circumstances the most propitious, and containing within herself the unfailing incentives to quiet and regular industry, and to all the higher developments of individual and social energy, it would not be strange if Oregon should outstrip the rival colony in the race of civilization and power, and at length build for herself a social fabric of higher finish and beauty, though it may be of less imposing dimensions and less gigantic framework. The tide of emigration from the older States which, prior to the discovery of the mines of California, was setting with a full current towards the territory of the North, is already resuming its wonted channels, and will ere long cover with a hardy, industrious, and thriving population, the valleys which stretch along the banks of the Willamette, the Wallawalla, and the far-flowing Columbia. Railroads will soon connect these seats of Northwestern opulence and power with the chain of the Lakes and the waters of the Mississippi, and the varied products of their agriculture and art will be borne by the swift-winged messengers of commerce to the islands of the Pacific, and the distant shores of India and of China. Her early growth may be slower, but her ultimate destiny cannot be less certain.

The pursuits to which her climate and soil most readily invite, are less exciting and less absorbing than the labors of mining and the risks of speculation that are stimulated by the golden treasures of the South, but it may well be questioned whether they are not also far more favorable to social stability and to all those domestic and civic virtues which give prosperity, dignity and glory to a people. Or, it may not be too much to anticipate that the diversity of which we have spoken in their character and resources, will prove advantageous to both these neighboring, and, in some sense, rival States, and that each will borrow from the other the qualities and energies which she may need to insure for her a triumphant progress in the pathway to greatness and power.

What thoughtful American can thus meditate upon the probable destiny which the future has in reserve for these rising States of the Pacific, without feeling his heart swell with patriotic joy, and exultant gratitude to God for the blessings He has conferred upon his country? The imagination in its utmost flight can hardly transcend the limits of rational probability. The empire of the Republic, the happy rule of our free institutions, extended from ocean to ocean—the resources of boundless wealth, and the avenues of unlimited commerce with the richest portions of the earth, opened to the American people—the language and the literature, the civil freedom and the Protestant Christianity of the English race secured as the perpetual inheritance and possession of the Western continent; these are but the first and most obvious results that will ensue from the colonization of those distant shores. Others of still increasing magnitude are not less certain to follow. From these new seats of empire, Christian civilization will spring onward as from a new starting point, and in its still westward course, it will ere long occupy the blooming islands of the Pacific, and plant itself, never to be uprooted, in the thickly peopled countries of the farthest Orient. To shores still enveloped in the night of barbarism, to people degraded by superstition and enslaved by despotism, the rich commerce of Western America will soon be extended, and with it will go the noble language and free sentiments which we have inherited from our English forefathers, and the civil and religious institutions which they formed amid the struggles of early ages, and which the labors of the wisest statesmen and the experience of many successive generations have matured and perfected. The doctrines of the Reformation, the principles of Magna Charta, and the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, will be borne to

those distant regions of the earth which for unknown ages have been the chosen home of superstition and despotism. They will animate new races, as they emancipate themselves from the shackles of barbarism, and enter upon a career of rational freedom. They will shape the character and guide the progress of nations, which hitherto have had no place in history, and have exerted no influence on the affairs of mankind, but which will at length rise to importance and renown under the influence of the new civilization they will have received from the shores of our own continent.

Heaven speed the day when anticipations like these shall be realized in the veritable facts of history! Then only will the true mission assigned to our Republic to execute for mankind be fully accomplished; then will the hopes of suffering humanity and the rapt visions of holy seers, which have never faded from the memories of men, find their actual embodiment in the advanced condition of the human race. Never before was an opportunity like this for Christian philanthropy to accomplish its most magnificent results. Let it now, in the new theatre which is already opened, and in that which is speedily to open, put forth its noblest endeavors. Let it combine its most earnest labors with the restless energies of forming States, with the influences of expanding commerce and advancing civilization, to hasten forward a triumph which their united strength alone can accomplish.

ART. VI.—EXAMINATION OF JOSHUA X. 12-15.

THE Book of Joshua contains a most interesting portion of Jewish history. The occupation of Canaan, so long anticipated, and so long delayed, and in the end effected at the express command of Jehovah, was one of the greatest events in the national existence of Israel. It was their birth-day to civil freedom and independence, the fulfillment of ancient promises, and the pledge of a peculiar and great destiny. What a blank would have been left in Jewish history without the book which describes the conquest and settlement of Canaan by the chosen people! With what vain but earnest curiosity should we have desired a clear statement of the way in which Jehovah led his people to the overthrow of their

enemies, of the assistance, direct and supernatural, which He afforded them, and of the principles, with their application to particular cases, upon which that war was conducted,—a war projected, commanded and regulated by the God of nations and of armies—a holy war! JEHOVAH marching at the head of His people to execute justice and to fulfil His word of promise! Certainly the narrative of such a war must be instructive, and be expected to furnish examples of extraordinary interposition on the part of God, to indicate His presence and display His power. Such a narrative we have in the Book of Joshua, and such interposition is ascribed in several instances to the Most High. It has been supposed that the verses referred to at the head of this article, relate to one of the events due to the special and miraculous agency of Jehovah, which caused the sun to remain visible, and protract a day to twice the usual length.

Now, we can think of nothing in the nature of the miracle supposed to render it in the least degree improbable. Joshua, of course, used the language of common life. It would have been absurd for him to resort to terms of scientific accuracy in the heat of conflict and before the host of Israel. The Spirit of God did not inspire men to speak absurdly. Nor can the Divine authority of a revelation be tested by the measure of its agreement in language with the precise statements of philosophy. Take, then, the most obvious conception of this miracle—that it consisted in an interruption of the earth's motion about its axis, and we find nothing in the nature of such an event to render it improbable as a miracle. We are surprised that any one should have felt it necessary to suggest a change in the atmosphere, and thereby in the refraction of light, as the reality of this supernatural occurrence. The omnipresent energy of God, taking effect at every point within and upon the surface of the earth, could put a stop to its rotary motion without the least disorder. The earth is a very little thing in the hand of Jehovah. All the planets of our system are but the small dust of the balance before Him. Such an interruption of the ordinary course of the material world must be just as possible and easy to the Almighty, and therefore, antecedently, just as probable as any other miraculous deed. If the power of God could be exerted only at one point, and must arrest the earth's revolution from that point, objections might fairly be raised. But His power and nature are alike ubiquitous. The former could act simultaneously upon every atom of earth, water, and air, effecting a complete, harmonious pause in any motion pertaining to them. Nor

would such a miracle be really any greater or more surprising than many of those performed by our Saviour in the days of his humiliation.

And as to the occasion, it was one seeming to justify rather than forbid a miracle. The five kings who had joined themselves in league for the war, relying upon their numbers, valor, and the favor of their gods, did not hesitate to take the offensive, and encamp against Gibeon. They represented the strength and spirit of southern Palestine. They knew the purpose for which the chosen people had passed over Jordan, and believing their gods more than a match for Jehovah, the God of the invaders, they were resolved to destroy at the outset those who had made peace with Israel. But the Almighty had purposed the overthrow of these kings. His arm was to secure the victory, and His name to receive the praise. The idolatrous inhabitants were to be taught that so long as Jehovah was with the invaders, the invaders were invincible. A signal manifestation of God's power on this day of battle, giving to Israel a complete and wonderful victory, would be likely to fill the hearts of all who possessed the southern portions of Canaan with fear, and to facilitate greatly the work of conquest in that region. It would also increase the courage of Joshua and his people, and teach them, by another impressive lesson, upon whom they were dependent for success in their great enterprise. For ends similar to these, Jehovah had cut off the waters of Jordan, and overthrown the walls of Jericho. The circumstances of the battle, then, would lead us rather to expect a miracle than to call in question the truth and reality of one recorded to have been wrought. Indeed, we have decisive proof that the occasion was such as to justify the Almighty in a miraculous interposition for the assistance of Israel and the destruction of their enemies. He did thus interfere. He sent a fierce storm of hail upon the army of the allied kings, so that more died by the hail-stones than by the sword (v. 11.) A storm so terrible, and so directed, smiting one army and leaving the other uninjured, was no natural occurrence. It was God's hand stretched out against His foes. It was Jehovah opening His magazine of wrath, and sending after those flying ranks weapons which they could not escape.

Now, the verses to be examined have generally been supposed to relate to another miraculous event of this day more fully described in the Book of Jasher, to which reference is made. The inspired historian is understood to affirm that the sun continued visible in the sky about twelve hours longer

than usual, to furnish the Israelites time for the effectual discomfiture and ruin of their enemies. We have seen that no arguments against this view can be drawn from the peculiar nature of the supposed miracle, or the occasion on which it is believed to have been wrought. And if it be certain that the writer of Joshua speaks in the latter half of these verses, and gives his sanction to the literal truth of the account found in the Book of Joshua, then there ought to be an end of doubt and debate. The question to be considered is purely philological, exegetical. We will copy the whole description :

12. "Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

13. "And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the Book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.

14. "And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel.

15. "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal."

May we regard this whole passage, except the clause, "Is not this written in the Book of Jasher?" as a quotation? Or is what comes after that clause to be ascribed to the sacred historian? In favor of the latter supposition it may be said,

a. That the first part of v. 13 is *clearly poetic* in the Hebrew, while the last part, repeating nearly the same thought, seems very much like prose. The clause of reference to the Book of Jasher is between these. This goes in favor of the current opinion, that the inspired writer has reiterated and sanctioned in plain language the principal fact contained in his quotation from a popular song of the day. Yet the line of distinction between prose and poetry has not been drawn with such accuracy in Hebrew as to justify us in assigning great value to this argument. In the present case, while Maurer represents the last clause of v. 13 and v. 14 as a "lame, *unpoetical* commentary" upon the poetic words of the extract, Keil, the author of a recent and valuable commentary upon Joshua, affirms that they have the proper "poetic parallelism of members not to be mistaken."

b. But the *position* of the clause referring to the Book of Jasher appears at first sight decisive, in favor of the latter view. Nowhere else in the Old Testament have we an extract in the very midst of which is inserted a notice of the

source whence it was taken. Letters are quoted in Nehemiah, speeches in Job, a poem in Kings, commands, remarks and prayers by most of the sacred writers ; but they are *preceded* by a statement of their source. And this is a very natural arrangement. It accords with the prevailing usage of modern languages. In Hebrew, where no marks of quotations—except, perhaps, the particle ׀—were used, and the only way of indicating that words were borrowed from another writer was by saying so, it would seem doubly desirable that the reference should be placed directly before the extract ; or, in case it were not put before the borrowed passage, we might suppose it would stand just after it. Accordingly, some writers have mentioned the formula occurring so often in Kings, (see 1 Kings xi. 41 ; xiv. 19, 29 ; xv. 7, 23, 31 ; xvi. 5, 14, 20, 27, &c.) “ Now the rest of the acts ” of this or that king, “ are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the kings of ” Judah or Israel ? as an example of this latter kind. They bring forward the similar formula used in Chronicles as another instance. Yet it may be doubted whether these formulæ ever followed accounts taken *verbally* from the records to which they direct the reader’s attention. The writers may, in fact, have been wholly independent of those records, making mention of them for the benefit of studious and inquisitive persons who might desire a fuller account of any particular reign. For this reason, they called attention to them, not as the sources of their narrative, but as containing “ the *rest* of the acts,” &c. A notice of this sort would naturally follow so much of the history of each king as was given. These cases are not, therefore, at all to the purpose in showing the usage of Hebrew writers when verbal extracts were made. It is then their uniform practice to notify us of the source of each quotation before giving the words of it. But our passage furnishes an exception to that practice. Either the whole, or a part, of the extract goes before the reference. The *usus loquendi* of Old Testament writers does not enable us to decide whether, if no allusion is made at the outset to the source of a quotation, it will be left to follow the extract, or be inserted somewhere in the course of it.

c. We can mention also the judgment of a large majority of intelligent readers in favor of the view, that the inspired historian speaks in the latter half of these verses, and confirms the truth of the borrowed passage. The sacred writers sought to instruct and benefit men. They had no motive to study ambiguity or obscurity, for they were not announcing the oracles of false gods. They did not make use of words

to conceal thought, but to express it. Hence the meaning which any passage conveys to those who read solely for instruction, without any view to criticism, will be found in most cases its true meaning. There is, therefore, an antecedent probability in favor of that interpretation of our passage which has long been approved by the great body of intelligent readers. Yet this probability is very far removed from certainty. No men, however taught and guided, could be expected to express their thoughts with such entire perspicuity that persons living in other ages and parts of the world, speaking different languages, familiar with different customs, and trained by opposite modes of education, would always, in the capacity of general readers, apprehend their statements correctly.

d. But the popular opinion respecting the import of our passage has been supported by the more cautious judgment of scholars. Until recently, commentators, after the example of Josephus and the early fathers, have been nearly unanimous in believing these verses to contain not only an appeal to the Book of Jasher, or an extract from it, but also a declaration made by the inspired historian, confirming the literal truth of the narrative or extract—a declaration that the day on which Israel smote the armies of Gibeon was prolonged to about twice the length of an ordinary day. So far, at least, they have been mainly agreed, whatever diversity has existed in their methods of explaining particular words and clauses, or the precise nature of the miracle, namely, whether it was an interruption of the earth's revolution upon its axis, a change in the refraction of light, or something else.

But of late, several eminent scholars have advocated the opinion that the verses under examination, from first to last, except the clause of reference, are an extract from a collection of songs celebrating the exploits of distinguished Hebrews, and called, from this circumstance, the Book of the Upright. We must consider the arguments for this interpretation. For the names of J. D. Michaelis, Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Keil, which may be cited in its support, are good security for its being worthy of attention. The last three are men who would adopt no exposition derogatory to the Word of God.

a. The prophetic formula, "Thus saith the Lord," is thought to be analogous to a citation of the author or book from which any words are taken. But this formula is found sometimes before, sometimes after, and sometimes in the midst of a discourse referred by it to Jehovah.

b. The section, v. 12-15, interrupts the narrative, and

forms a complete whole of itself, וַיָּנֻסוּ *and these fled*, these five kings, of verse 16, taking up וַיָּהֲרֹג בָּנָם *and it came to pass as they fled*, of verse 11, and continuing the story of the battle and pursuit.

c. The phrase, "In the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites," &c., used to define more strictly the word *then*, indicates a new author. The inspired historian, relating an occurrence like that of Joshua's addressing the sun, would naturally have introduced it at the proper point in the series of events described by him, and so doing, the adverb "*then*" would have been perfectly definite alone. But in the first line of an independent poetic description of that wonderful victory, the adverb would have no meaning without the limiting clause. The extract, therefore, begins with the first word of verse 12. Moreover the last verse of this section cannot be easily explained, unless by supposing it a part of the quotation. "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal." The same words are repeated at the close of the chapter, where they are perfectly in place as the words of the writer of this book. But it cannot be thought the host of Israel returned to Gilgal before the events related in the latter half of the chapter. Joshua was too old and skillful a captain to forego the advantage which was afforded him, by the terror and confusion of his enemies, for following them up and completing their overthrow. Besides, would the five kings be likely to remain hidden in a cave while the Israelites could go a day's march to Gilgal, and return? Or would their followers have been unable in so long a time to reach their "fenced cities," or even to get so much the start of the Hebrews as to render pursuit entirely vain? Let us look at the course of the Israelites;—a rapid march all night from the camp to Gibeon—a conflict and pursuit of twelve or twenty-four hours—a return to the camp, requiring more than a whole day, for the battle had drawn them some miles towards the south-west—the return to the vicinity of Makkedah, occupying more than another day—the time for necessary rest, two nights at least. The kings of the Amorites must have remained no less than two full days and nights in the cave before Joshua returned, shut them in, and resumed the pursuit. And this must have been so much time given by Israel to their enemies for flight to the "fenced cities." Yet some of these cities were nearer the place where the armies were at the close of the first day than was the camp at Gilgal. It is impossible to examine this chapter carefully without feeling a conviction amounting to assurance, that only one return of

Joshua and his army to Gilgal actually took place. Hence the difficulty which almost all have felt in attempting to explain verse 15, and the rejection of it by the LXX., by Calvin, and by many other interpreters. As, however, there is no reason to suppose the verse an interpolation, others assign a new meaning to *וַיָּשָׁב*, namely, he *began to return*, or *thought of returning*, but changed his mind when he heard that the kings were in a cave at Makkedah. Only those who were hard pressed, and felt this to be the last way of vindicating the truthfulness of the historian, would have ventured to impose a new signification upon so common a word. Still, another class of interpreters understand the declaration of v. 15 to have been made by way of *anticipation*. The mind of the sacred writer, after resting upon the great miracle and victory of the first day, is supposed to glance forward to the end of the campaign, overlooking the series of conquests in southern Palestine which preceded the return to Gilgal. But how a writer perfectly acquainted with the events of this campaign could deliberately set down for history a statement so certain to be misunderstood, it is difficult to conceive. The express object of the historian was to describe the conquest and occupation of Canaan, (see i. 5, 6.) Could the return to the camp be of so much more consequence to such a writer than a succession of victories, and the subjection of a considerable portion of the land, that it must distract his attention from the order of events, and lead him to anticipate the natural place for mentioning it, at the expense of repetition and confusion in his narrative? We find nothing elsewhere in the Book of Joshua to warrant such a charge. The supposed parallels to be found in this book, or in other historical portions of the Old Testament, are examined by Keil, in his recent commentary, and are shown not to be such in reality. Accordingly, if verse 15 does not belong to the extract, no satisfactory explanation of it has yet been found. If it does belong to the extract, all difficulty vanishes at once; the words have their proper and established sense, and but one going back of the Israelites to Gilgal is spoken of in our chapter.

But verse 15 is, undoubtedly, prose, and the rest of the passage poetry; does not this prove a difference of origin? Would a poetic description terminate with a statement in bald and simple prose? To say nothing of the intermingling of prose and poetry in some of the prophets, we have a case just to the point in the song of Moses and the children of Israel after passing the Red Sea, (Ex. xv. 1-19.) This song closes with a plain declaration that "the horse of Pharaoh went in,

with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea; and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them: but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea." This is just as poetical in our English version as in the original Hebrew, yet the preceding verses of this song have all the characteristics of finished poetry.

In view of these considerations we must conclude, in spite of the arguments for an opposite opinion, that the whole section, v. 12-15, is an extract from the Book of Jasher. Besides our passage, 2 Sam. i. 19-27, contains an extract from this book. Both are poetical; the latter, David's beautiful elegy upon Saul and Jonathan, is unquestionably so throughout. It is inferred from these quotations, and from the title of the book, that it was a collection of songs, written at different times, and by different men in honor of Israelites distinguished for heroic deeds and piety.

But if the verses under examination are poetry, we are next to inquire after their meaning. They may relate an actual miracle; but is it absolutely *certain they do*? The thirteenth chapter of Isaiah predicts the destruction of Babylon by the Medes; yet Jehovah says, "the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine. I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place." In the eighteenth Psalm David describes his deliverance from the hand of his enemies and of Saul, by saying, "Then the earth shook and trembled—He bowed the heavens also and came down—He rode upon a cherub, and did fly," &c. God is here represented as doing in person by visible, extraordinary means, what He really brings to pass by his customary methods of operation in connection with the agency of man. When Isaiah in the name of his people prays, "O that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down," lxiv. 1, we do not suppose a literal rending of the heavens is called for, or a visible descent of the Almighty. In the song of Deborah and Barak, Judges v. 20, it is said, "They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," but we should wholly mistake the spirit of Hebrew poetry, and the proper use of figurative language by inferring that a change unfavorable to Sisera really took place in the skies. And if our passage in Joshua is to be regarded as a poetical extract from the Book of Jasher, and is to be interpreted by its own language merely, as compared with other specimens of Hebrew poetry, then we cannot safely assert upon the

veracity of a sacred writer, that a day was prolonged beyond the usual length at the command or prayer of Joshua. The quotation is sanctioned as truth by the inspired penman, but only as *poetic* truth.

It has been thought, however, that Isaiah xxviii. 21 contains an allusion to the miracle of the sun's standing still; "For the Lord shall rise up as in Mount Perazim, he shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon, that he may do his work, his strange work." If this passage really refers to the assistance which was afforded Joshua and Israel when they fought in the valley of Gibeon, it certainly neither affirms nor implies anything in respect to the way in which that assistance was given. It may have been by filling the hearts of their enemies with fear, or by pursuing them with deadly hail-stones. Meanwhile, Hitzig, Umbreit, Knobel and others, find in Isaiah xxviii. 21, only a reference to 2 Sam. v. 20-25, and 1 Chron. xiv. 16. We think they are correct.

Respecting Hab. iii. 11, which reads in our version, "The sun and moon stood still in their habitation," Keil remarks, "Most interpreters, even unto the latest times, have translated the words שֶׁמֶשׁ יָרַח עָמְדוּ וְנִלְּהוּ, "*Sun and moon stood still in their dwelling*," i. e., heaven, and then found in them an express confirmation of the miraculous standing still of the sun at Gibeon. But with our present knowledge of the Hebrew language, there is no longer any need of proof for those acquainted with the language, that this translation is grammatically false. The words are to be translated: "*Sun and moon entered into their dwelling*," and are to be understood not of an actual setting, but only of a darkening of the sun and moon, similar to a going down. "The historical reference of the verse to the sun's standing still at Joshua's word of faith and power, although assumed by almost all the old interpreters from the Targum to Herder and Steudel, is refuted by the grammatically false and really insipid explanations made to connect the last part of v. 11 with the first part, even if וְנִלְּהוּ could be equivalent to בִּזְכָּל." (Delitzsch ad loc.) Gesenius says: "*Sun and moon stand still in their habitation*, i. e., they hide themselves, do not shine." Hitzig translates and comments thus: "*The sun, the moon entered into its dwelling*. We should say, they enter the shade, the back-ground, because the splendor of the lightning obscures their own." It must be conceded upon a careful examination of Hab. iii. 11, that our English version of the first clause does not suggest the true meaning at once, and that no allusion is contained in that clause to any event re-

corded in the Book of Joshua. The two passages now considered are the only ones in the whole Bible which have been supposed to imply, or allude to, the wonderful event related in Jos. x. 12-15. The quotation from the Book of Jasher must, therefore, be interpreted as a poetical fragment standing alone. No inspired writer has asserted or denied its literal truth. No one has referred to it in the remotest way.

But while we think it unsafe to affirm, that the verse under examination must be understood literally as so much simple history, we find one or two expressions in them which indicate a real transaction as the foundation of the account. In v. 14, the day of this conflict is distinguished from other days, in that "*Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of a man.*" And in v. 12, we read, "Then spake Joshua—and said *in the sight of Israel.*" These statements seem to imply an actual and authoritative address of Joshua, whatever may have been the words, to the effect that the sun should not go down "until they had avenged themselves upon their enemies." Both the language ascribed to Joshua and the peculiar emphasis laid upon the fact that God hearkened to the voice of a man, lead to the conclusion that Joshua's words were remarkable for their boldness and commanding tone. They were no doubt a prayer, so far as the heart of the leader of Israel was concerned, but, perhaps, a prayer uttered in rather military language. This address was most likely made during the conflict in the valley of Gibeon. After having passed westward from Gibeon, in the pursuit, it would not have been natural to refer back to that city in an address to the sun, making that the place over which it was to remain. Besides, if the mention of the moon be anything more than a poetic embellishment, that luminary must have been visible in the southwest over Ajalon. The sun must have been in the east and the moon in the west to have been at the same time visible, and to have given rise to any expression similar to that attributed to Joshua by the poet. His address was therefore made in the early part of the day and of the conflict, or, it is more probable, of the pursuit. The real import of his words must have been a prayer, that the day might not end before the overthrow of his enemies was complete. And such a prayer would have been as really answered by sending a storm of great hail-stones upon the Amorites and aiding the army of Israel to do the work of two days in one, as by prolonging one day to twice the ordinary length. Accordingly, it is said, v. 11, "They were more which died with hail-stones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword." Certainly here was a very satisfactory answer to the prayer of Joshua.

ART. VII.—PHILOSOPHIC THEOLOGY.

PHILOSOPHIC THEOLOGY; or, *Ultimate Grounds of all Religious Belief based in Reason.* By JAMES W. MILES. Charleston: John Russel. 1849.

WE feel a very decided repugnance to the use of the terms "*philosophy*" and "*philosophic*," in connexion with revealed religion. When a preacher advertises us from the pulpit, that he is about to give us the philosophy of a particular doctrine or text, we can scarcely repress a rising sentiment of disgust at the announcement, while all expectations of edification from his labors are at once dispelled. In like manner, when we take up a book which treats of the Christian faith, and which threatens to expound to us the *philosophy* of the gospel, we invariably find ourselves possessed of a violent presumption against its merits. Certain unfavorable ideas of its character are at once involuntarily formed. We expect to find it mystifying subjects that are plain, making clear, at least to the author's mind, those that are unfathomable, and treating, with irreverent familiarity, others that should be shielded from such audacious tampering, by their peculiar solemnity. We prepare our minds to see the Bible handled with small ceremony by our Christian philosopher, very much as a modern gentleman uses his travelling cap.

This may be a foolish prejudice of our own, indicating ignorance rather than wisdom, and more superstition than piety; but we own to its existence, nevertheless. It is possibly a prejudice which we have contracted from reading certain expressions in the writings of the Apostle Paul, who was accustomed to speak very slightly of the philosophical teachers of his day. All philosopher as he was, he was satisfied with leaving the great revelations which he announced in their naked force, neither weakened nor strengthened by the addition of his metaphysics.

In addition to this, the books which we have read professing to handle divine truth philosophically, have served rather to confirm and exasperate, than to remove our prejudices. We have derived the smallest possible benefits from the pompous and abstruse treatises, whose design has been to illuminate the Bible with the conjectures of human wisdom, and present its doctrines in the drapery of scientific technicalities. The whole

tribe of speculatists, from the primitive Gnostics down to the German Rationalists and their timid English imitators, have inflicted upon Christianity a succession of serious injuries, the more serious because coming from those who professed to be its friends and supporters.

We do not intend to assert that Christianity disdains all connexion with philosophy, and urges its pretensions in contempt and denial of the laws of the human mind. It must harmonize with these laws, or be rejected as absurd. Nor do we object to efforts attempting an adjustment of Revelation to a correct system of mental science; but what we *do* mean to say is, that the more ambitious of these attempts have, in general, proved signal failures, either from ignorance of Christianity on the part of those who made them, or from their bringing a false philosophy, and an improper spirit, to the work of adjustment.

We regret being obliged to add that the book whose title we have spread before our readers, has in nowise contributed to convince us of the erroneousness of these views. It is a clear, neatly printed, handsomely bound volume, the production of the Rev. J. W. Miles, an Episcopal clergyman, of Charleston, S. C., and Professor of *Belles Lettres*, in the Charleston College. Mr. Miles, we are informed, is comparatively a young man, making with this book his first venture in authorship; and in many respects we cordially acknowledge it a most respectable and creditable venture. It proves very convincingly that Mr. Miles is a man of talent. He has evidently read pretty extensively, and reflected with no little attention on the subjects of which he here treats. Like many of the younger class of scholars of our day, he is smitten with a violent admiration of Germany, and has familiarized himself, to some extent, with German philosophy. The spirit in which he writes is, upon the whole, amiable and conciliatory. He seems animated with a genuine love of the gospel, and with really benevolent solicitude for the enlightenment and conversion of the skeptical. His style, though somewhat hard and cramped, especially when compared with the flowing sentences of his master, Morell, is vigorous, and presents occasional striking excellences. However the readers of this book may fall out with its sentiments, and question the prudence that allowed its publication, they will all rise from its perusal impressed with respect for its author's intellect—with the conviction that he who can produce this work, has ability enough to produce a much better one.

In his "Advertisement," and "Address to the Reader,"

Mr. Miles informs us, that this volume has sprung from the necessity which the mind of the writer has felt, for rendering to itself a sufficient reason respecting religious belief, and that its object is "to suggest the philosophic grounds involved in the chief points of Christian theology." We do not think the *plan* by which this important object is attempted to be accomplished a fortunate one. The book opens with several letters from a supposed skeptic, with replies by the author, and a final invitation to the skeptic to give a "candid perusal of the following discussion in which the subjects of the letters will be more fully treated." Then follows the body of the work. This arrangement strikes us as awkward. It leads to much unnecessary and tedious repetition, and introduces confusion into the whole treatise. It would have been a simpler and happier method of managing the subject, if the author had dispensed with the preliminary letters altogether, or given an epistolary form to the entire discussion.

But our objections to this introductory correspondence between the imaginary skeptic and the author are of a graver nature than this. There is a sad want of clearness in it all. He does not well see what are the troubles and difficulties of the inquiring unbeliever. He complains of being oppressed with unaccountable lowness of spirits; asks a great many transcendental questions about God, man, truth, time, eternity and the universe, such as nearly any moderately intelligent child puts to himself; darkly intimates that he is wandering in doubt and perplexity between Atheism and Pantheism; and then, after the author's first letter, brightens up wonderfully, and turns out to be nearly as good a Christian as the "friend" who kindly undertakes the office of his religious Mentor. He does not indicate clearly the precise grounds of his anxiety and unbelief, and "the friend," in his responses, is equally unsuccessful in defining his position; so that we are obliged to enter upon the perusal of the main argument under a haze. The objection which we urge against this preliminary portion of the volume holds, to some extent, against the remaining parts. There is, all through, a want of precise statement and lucid views.

But dismissing these minor points, we propose briefly to consider the principles on which this work is constructed, and its alleged claims as a defense of the Christian faith. It sets out, in our judgment, with a most hazardous purpose, and is based, in all its reasonings, upon no more than a half-truth. Its object, as already intimated, is to find some ground of absolute *certainly* on which to rest the belief of Christianity.

It makes the false and dangerous concession to all "earnest-spirited, deep-thinking, serious inquirers," (as, in a sort of fashionable cant, it is now common to style skeptics,) that the old arguments by which Christianity has been defended, are obsolete and untenable, or at least, if good for anything, are not sufficient to satisfy these "deep-thinkers." It is unsparing in its denunciations of the narrow, untenable, dogmatic views which have characterized the former supporters of Christianity, and it confidently declares, "their grounds of defence cannot stand." New reasons, it is asserted, must be brought forth; loftier and profounder views of man and truth attained, or the "earnest and philosophic" will repudiate Christianity with something like a feeling of sovereign contempt. Now, these concessions are equally unjust, rash and foolish. The old "grounds of defence" have stood for some time, and are yet serving a valuable purpose with many minds, possessing respectable claims both to sincerity and sagacity. Before a professed champion of Christianity should consent to show them so cavalier a respect, and thus lead multitudes to suspect the truth of revealed religion, he should be absolutely certain that he has something of undeniable authority and overpowering cogency to offer as a substitute for them. Our deliberate opinion is, that Mr. Miles's denunciations of the ancient methods of defending Christianity, so liberally and confidently dispensed, will cause his book (if it has any effect at all) to operate injuriously; while it may thus unmoor some minds from their former safe and fast anchorage, it will furnish no new demonstrations to arrest their wanderings and fix again their unsettled faith. If our author had contented himself with simply advancing his own theories, his work would have proved quite a harmless affair. It is the easy contempt which he expresses for the "old paths," that will give it any power for mischief.

Mr. Miles seeks, as we have seen, to discover some ground of certitude on which to rest Christianity, and, unless this can be discovered, he admits that it "fails to fulfil the necessary conditions of an imperative revelation." We think no better of this admission, than of the concessions already mentioned. It involves an unfounded and pernicious principle. We are far from saying that Christianity does not rest upon such ground as is here demanded; but we would be equally far from granting, that the infidel is justified in its rejection, unless it can be brought home to him with the force of an axiom, or mathematical demonstration. This we regard as the *πρωτον ψευδος*—the fatal assumption—which makes the whole

book false and dangerous. We hold, with Bishop Butler, that something is due to probability. It was one of the sayings of this great man—a much safer judge than Mr. Miles's German authorities—that "probabilities are to us the very guides of life." Upon them we are constantly acting, and he who, in innumerable instances, should decline such action, would be voted a fit inmate of a mad-house. If Christianity can be elevated into a sphere where it shall flash the clear and overpowering light of conviction upon the mind, and necessitate a belief in its doctrines, we shall of course experience no feeble satisfaction. But we have, we confess, little hope of seeing this result attained. Our religion presents evidence enough in its favor to satisfy any mind that will give it unprejudiced attention, and enough to justify it in demanding a universal reception. Meantime, we have no doubt that many of its doctrines will never find a basis in any necessary conception of reason, but will still remain subjects demanding the exercise of an humble faith. We enter our earnest protest against these extra-generous concessions of the philosophic defenders of Christianity, who are willing to stake its reception, or rejection, upon their furnishing some basis of positive certitude for its belief. If their efforts should fail, (as fail they will,) we shall still ask to be excused from renouncing Christianity, as an antiquated and effete superstition.

And now, what is the rock of certainty that our author proposes to substitute for the shifting sands, on which the hitherto ambiguous and fluctuating doctrines of Christianity have sought a resting-place? What new mine of evidence has he struck—what demonstration elaborated, that is to dispense with the "Evidences" of Paley, Chalmers, and a host of illustrious defenders of the faith? What, in this age of "new lights," is the light that is now to illuminate the obscurest depths of this great controversy, and leave no more possibility for skepticism to doubt? Even the light that is within us—the "deep consciousness," the unerring "intuitions," the divine "reason," the religious "sensibility," of which we are all happily possessed! It is the "direct, presentative, spontaneous perception of supersensuous truth," that is to take the place of laborious research, testimony, logic, "dogmatism," and give us certitude for probability!

The starting-point of Mr. Miles's argument, the fruitful assumption from which his entire book is evolved, is the now tolerably familiar distinction between the Reason and Understanding—a distinction furnished us by German metaphysicians, and for which we owe them very small

thanks.* In the Reason, a power which takes cognizance of truth intuitively, and whose conceptions are supposed to be necessary and authoritative, we are taught to seek for so much of the Christian system as is of any vital importance. "Christianity appears," we are told, "to no process of the Understanding, submits itself to no decision of the individual judgment, but it at once enters into the sphere of Reason, and presents itself immediately and directly to its intuitive perception; and as *religion*, it actuates itself in the spontaneous consciousness of that nature to whose inmost wants it is adapted." With a little patient study, the reader will discover under this jargon of pompous terms, the assertion that the mind spontaneously and necessarily perceives the truth of revelation; and thus it is attempted to stamp our religious beliefs with a certainty which they can not acquire, when obtained through the slow and now dishonored processes of investigation, deduction, and logic.

To the perversion of familiar terms in Mental Science, exhibited in the preceding paragraph, we strenuously object. When a New Philosophy comes in with its lofty pretensions, we hold it unfair in it to steal the technicalities of an old and not yet exploded system, and, by giving them a strange sense and application, confuse and perplex the minds of common readers. Let it bring a new nomenclature along with its alleged improved analysis of the mental powers. Precisely this confusion and perplexity have arisen, and are widely experienced, from the terms Reason and Understanding, as employed by a class of modern writers. Besides, while this is not the place for the discussion, and we profess no ability to conduct it properly, if it were, we may be allowed to state that we have no confidence in the correctness and permanence of this method of arranging and treating the intellectual faculties. The "Common Sense" and "Primary Beliefs" of the Scotch metaphysicians, and the "Original Suggestion" of some later philosophers, we can understand; but touching a capacity of the mind to take immediate and unerring cognizance of spiritual truth, the Pure Reason of Kant, the Reason and Consciousness of Morell and this book, we confess ourselves thoroughly skeptical. But it is on the possession of this wondrous power that Mr. Morell, and his faithful American disciple, Mr. Miles, found their claims of certainty for Christianity. This Reason or Consciousness, elevated far

* It will not be universally admitted that the views in "*Philosophic Theology*" condemned by the reviewer, are necessarily evolved from the distinction between the Reason and the Understanding.—S. S. C.

above the Understanding—a mere logical faculty and engaged only with the *forms* of knowledge—is to carry conviction to all “deep,” “earnest,” and philosophic inquirers. The prodigious claim is thus asserted for man, that he has virtually within himself all the elements of religious truth—that he possesses a religious sensibility, which enables him at once to pronounce upon any professed work of inspiration—and that the elevation and cultivation of this sensibility in fact constitute Inspiration! Of course, he is thus rendered superior to the alleged revelations of God’s will, and decides upon their claims, not by reasoning and weight of testimony, but spontaneously, intuitively, and authoritatively, by their consonance with the whispers of the divinity within. Mr. Miles instructs his skeptic, that nothing is requisite for him to understand and appreciate the gospel, but to awaken and develop this sacred sensibility.

But how, we cannot help asking, is this end to be reached; how is this consciousness to be excited into suitable activity? Suppose the divinity within the skeptic does not stir, and the unbeliever complains that he has no “direct, presentative perception” of truth and beauty in the Christian system, is there no argument that can be addressed to his reason, (using that term in its ordinary and rightful sense,) that shall command the submission of his judgment, and raise such a probability in favor of the credibility of Christianity, as will not merely justify, but imperatively require his acting upon it? If not—if we are to await the moving of consciousness before the infidel shall discover certainty enough in revealed religion to excite him to anxious exertions, we may as well give up in despair, and turn our Christianity over to moping recluses and dreaming enthusiasts, who have time and disposition to test it by the laws of this new-fangled mysticism. It is very true, no doubt, and has been so argued from the beginning, that the adaptedness of Christianity to the conscious wants of man, forms a powerful argument in its favor; but this is quite a different thing from resting the whole controversy respecting the divine origin of religion, the authority of the sacred records, the incarnation and the atonement, upon the deliverances of human consciousness, especially after that consciousness is darkened and perverted by a general and desperate depravity of the heart. We opine that the preacher who should go forth to Christianize the world in accordance with this system of philosophy—who, instead of first establishing the authenticity and authority of the Scriptures, and urging them upon men by all the force of this consideration,

should simply beseech them to find the truths which they teach in the depths of human consciousness, would make little headway. If a wise and pious man, he would soon learn the necessity of inverting the order of his instructions, and adopting a more apostolic method.

Still further than this, we should suppose that the advocates of this theory would discover a complete overthrow of their speculations, in the diverse and positively conflicting responses of this divine consciousness, to which they appeal with so much confidence. After narrowing down, to suit themselves, the essential truths of revelation to a very limited number, "Reason" is far from giving a uniform utterance on these few points. Some find one truth in their consciousness, and others any but this. Mr. Miles, as we shall see by and by, discovers the doctrine of the Trinity there: not many of the same school, we suspect, would be equally orthodox in their findings. After all, it would seem that "certitude," to which this boastful philosophy promised to conduct us, is as difficult of access, as remote and vanishing a quantity, as it proved under the old system of "dogmatism" and induction.

Thus far we have considered the seminal principle of this work. As might be supposed, it produces some fruits not very gratifying to those who are but partially initiated into the sublime mysteries of German theology. It leads our author, very naturally, to speak disparagingly of the historical argument for Christianity, and the argument from miracles. Although he gives us a chapter in opposition to the celebrated sophism of Hume, he still sees in miracles very little to warrant our belief in the divinity of Christ's doctrine. On this point there is a passage in a recent admirable article on *Reason and Faith*, in the *Edinburgh Review*, so exactly expressive of our opinions, that we will take the liberty of quoting it here. We shall not undertake to add to its force.

"While on this subject, we may notice a certain fantastical tone of depreciation of miracles as an evidence of Christianity, which is occasionally adopted even by some who do not deny the possibility or probability, or even the fact, of their occurrence. They affirm them to be of little moment, and represent them—with an exquisite affectation of metaphysical propriety—as totally incapable of convincing men of any *moral truth*; upon the ground that there is no natural relation between any displays of *physical power* and any such truth. Now without denying that the nature of the doctrine is a criterion, and must be taken into account in judging of the reality of any alleged miracle, we have but two things to reply to this: first, that, as Paley says in relation to the question whether *any* accumulation of testimony can establish a miraculous fact, we are content 'to try the theorem upon a simple case,' and affirm that man is so constituted that if he himself sees the blind restored to sight and the dead raised,

under such circumstances as exclude all doubt of fraud on the part of others and all mistake on his own, he will uniformly associate authority with such displays of superhuman power ; and, secondly, that the notion in question is in direct contravention of the language and spirit of Christ himself, who *expressly* suspends his claims to men's belief and the authority of his doctrines on the fact of his miracles. 'The *works* that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.' 'If ye believe not me, believe *my works*.' 'If I had not come among them, and *done the works that none other man did*, they had not had sin ; but now they have no cloak for their sin.' "

It follows from the author's views already set forth, that his notions of Inspiration are likely to be low and unsatisfactory, and his estimate of the Scriptures not such as is commonly regarded of indispensable importance. Holding to the existence of a faculty within, that pronounces promptly and *ex cathedra* upon the claims of an inspired work, and a consciousness that contains in itself the great elements of religion, he feels comparatively little necessity for a book which may be regarded as an infallible standard of truth. Accordingly, he again and again asserts, or intimates, that it matters very little, so far as their verity and trust-worthiness are concerned, whether the teachings of the Bible are direct revelations from God or not. Inasmuch, he tells us, as Christianity is not so much a "science, as a divine life, actuating itself in the soul," it would still live and flourish if the sacred records were lost, or proved documents of very doubtful authority. We find the following strange question propounded in one of the letters to the skeptic : "But take a Christian man who has realized the vital power of the Christian life in his soul, and ask him if he would feel himself obliged to relinquish his belief in Christianity, if it were *demonstrated* that the Pentateuch was not genuine, that the historical books were not authentic, that the Prophets give no prophecies, that the Gospels (let us put the strongest case) are only traditions about Christ, written not by eye-witnesses, and what would be his reply ?" If it were made a little more plain what is meant here by "traditions about Christ," and it should prove that just what is dimly intimated is really intended, we could not hesitate about *our* reply—and a very mournful one it would be. Again he says : "Even suppose that the records alluded to (the Gospels) could be indubitably proved to be rather mythical accretions than veritable history, this could not touch the actual existing fact of the power and vitality of Christianity as realized in the consciousness of man." There is much in the same vein which we have no patience to quote. Does Mr. Miles design coolly and honestly to affirm that, if

there is no veritable statement of facts relating to Christ in the New Testament, Christianity could still survive, because the human "Consciousness" would assure us of its truth? This, in our estimation, is a stupid and enormous absurdity. The fact that Christianity has *now* any hold upon this consciousness, and that, (to borrow our author's phraseology,) it has hitherto "actuated itself as a divine life in the soul," arises from the unquestioned inspiration and reliableness of these gospel narratives. Whenever their inspiration has been denied, Christianity has virtually died; and if we could really entertain the supposition which our author takes special delight in thrusting forward, it would die out of the world, and perish even from the "deep Consciousness" of all such Christian philosophers as Mr. Miles. We are astounded that any sensible man should become so perverted and bewildered by a mystical and transcendental philosophy, as to be guilty of soberly propounding such sentiments.

When Mr. Miles walks with his master, he goes into paths sufficiently dark and crooked; but when he breaks away from Mr. Morell, and strikes out into original speculations and goes to interrogating his own consciousness for oracular utterances of divine truth, his failures are signally mortifying. He has a curious chapter, which we take to be altogether an original and independent affair, entitled "Basis in the necessary conceptions of Reason for belief in the Incarnation." The great mystery of revelation, God manifest in the flesh, is here treated as something that might have been anticipated by a philosopher of the transcendental order, whose religious consciousness was suitably developed. We presume that other sages of this School, (comprising a vast majority, no doubt,) would controvert this opinion with energetic hostility. The whole Socinian section, however pleased with the general principles of this volume, would be seriously outraged at this particular application of them, and would pronounce our author's consciousness wanting in suitable cultivation. In their estimation, the Incarnation is a pure and palpable absurdity. Indeed, one of Mr. Miles's own followers, in an approving review of his work in the *Southern Quarterly*, is constrained to part company with him on this subject, and proceeds to upset his boasted demonstration. It is certainly proof of our author's boldness and Christian sincerity, that, adopting a skeptical philosophy, he has sought to employ its principles in establishing the distinguishing peculiarities of our faith—though to little purpose. That the Incarnation is credible, we of course do not doubt, simply because we have

sufficient evidence to commend it to our belief; but that any such basis for the doctrine can be found in the necessary conceptions of the human mind, as to render it especially rational and acceptable, is utterly without proof. If men were to let their decision upon this fact turn upon finding such a basis, this great initial doctrine of Christianity would, we fear, be generally repudiated as absurd and impossible. The truth is, it is precisely one of these momentous facts which transcend human reason, whether pure or practical, which the mind, unable to prove to be incredible, is bound to accept upon suitable testimony, in the exercise of faith.

Mr. Miles goes even further than this, and with a temerity that nothing can daunt, or restrain, brings his "intuitions" and "necessary conceptions," to bear upon another doctrine of revelation, the highest and most awful, perhaps, of its impenetrable mysteries, the Trinity. On this subject, the solemn grandeur of which should have repelled his puny attempts at philosophizing, he gives us a considerable quantity of mystical nonsense, winding up with this, to himself, satisfactory conclusion:—"Our argument, then, may be so far useful as to show that the plurality in the Divine essence is not a mere question of scholastic paradoxes, but is bound up with ontological conceptions, which necessarily arise when we attempt to realize philosophically and definitely the idea of a personal Infinite Being." It is provoking to see men, who fling away as worthless, or discredit by the epithets of disparagement, proofs which establish a great doctrine in human conviction, bringing that doctrine to their petty square and line, and after applying, with easy grace, their Lilliputian implements of measurement, coolly assuring us that all is right now, and we may believe with entire safety!

There are many other points in this treatise which deserve attention, but we have prosecuted our examination as far as is proper. The principles on which we have commented, and on which this volume is constructed, have now been at work for some years. The first time that we remember to have seen them presented in a form to arrest our attention, was about ten years ago, in a philosophic religious romance, entitled "*Charles Elwood*," written by the somewhat famous Orestes A. Brownson. That work was not unlike the one we have been reviewing; it is true it went somewhat further—was written with more boldness and power, and evinced much less respect for the vital elements of Christianity, but its principles were very much the same. It was written, too, with the specific design of converting the Atheist to something

that bore the name, if it had none of the characteristics, of Christianity, and it succeeded (not quite so easily perhaps as did Mr. Miles) in accomplishing this result. It is an instructive fact, that Mr. Brownson has since taken refuge from his philosophy and "Consciousness," amidst the prodigious absurdities of Romish tradition and dogmatism. So one extreme is ever apt to drive to another. We respectfully suggest that Mr. Miles may learn a lesson from this incident.

There is one aspect in which this work is contemplated by us with some gratification. It shows that the writer, in a community where High Churchism predominates, and under a bishop understood to lean strongly towards Puseyism, is not under the bondage of "sacramental grace." He speaks out plainly and loudly against the authority of *the Church*. Tradition has no charms for him. Had he evinced a stronger confidence in the sacred records, and a more moderate estimate of the powers of human reason, we should have had no occasion for controverting the positions of his "*Philosophic Theology*."

ART. VIII.—SKETCH OF PRESIDENT TAYLOR.

GENERAL TAYLOR is the second President of the United States who has died in the discharge of his official duties. Within the brief period of nine years, but one year more than Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson severally administered the government, the United States has had six Presidents. Two of them, Harrison and Taylor, died in office; Mr. Polk immediately after the expiration of his term; the three survivors are Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Tyler, and President Fillmore.

The death of President Taylor is an event which demands something more than a formal announcement. It occurred so soon after the first public notice of his illness, and so soon after he had participated in the negotiation of important questions, that although we were prepared for the event, the solemn fact that he was dead startled the whole nation. That he would die before he had completed the second year of his term had not entered into the calculations of any mind. One who had encountered so many perils and

so much exposure, and who had strengthened a vigorous constitution by his temperance and prudence, it was supposed, would endure, as he had always endured, and come out of the trial victorious. But that Divine Providence which had sheltered him in the storm of battle, and which had enabled him to bear the flag of his country triumphant over so many fields, had otherwise decreed, and he rests from his labors.

It is our purpose to give a sketch of the life of President Taylor. The station which he adorned, no less than his many and peculiar claims to the admiration of all who admire true excellence, demand a cordial and generous tribute to his character. In the midst of present difficulties, with the tempest of sectional jealousy blowing about us, with the rock of Disunion directly in our course, the people of all sections and parties could look to him as the good Palinurus who would guide us into the haven of peace and security.

Zachary Taylor was born in Orange county, Virginia, in the year 1784. His father was a Colonel in the Continental army, and fought at the battle of Trenton by the side of Washington. When six years old, his family emigrated to Kentucky, where they were surrounded by hostile Indians. At this distance of time, and in this hour of security, we cannot realize the extent of the dangers that awaited the pioneers in the Western country. The tomahawk, and the scalping knife, and the yell of the savage, were as familiar to them as the return of morning light. Exposed to scenes of blood and violence were the early days of General Taylor. Washington and John Quincy Adams were taught to speak the name of their Creator by pious and conscientious mothers, and it is said that Taylor's mother was scrupulously exact in his early training; and to her blessed influence he was indebted for that refined sense of honor and acute sensibility, that generosity and sincere love of the truth, which adorned his years of active life. From his father, who was an actor in the Revolution, he imbibed a love of military glory. In 1808 he received from President Jefferson his first commission as Lieutenant in the Seventh Regiment of the Army of the United States. In 1812 he had attained the rank of Captain, and was ordered to the West to aid in repelling the border warfare, which followed the surrender of Gen. Hull's army. In the course of this year he defended Fort Harrison with but fifty men, in the heart of the Indian country. The savages fired the fort at midnight. He rallied his men, extinguished the flames, and by his indomitable courage main-

tained his position until relieved by superior force. For this gallant achievement he was brevetted a Major by President Madison.

The long interval of twenty years of peace, which succeeded the war of 1812, found Major Taylor at the various posts assigned him, in the quiet pursuit of his ordinary duties. In 1832 he distinguished himself in the Black Hawk war, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel. In the Florida war he commanded the Sixth Infantry. The contest with the Indians in Florida is one of the most memorable in our annals, as they had, after years of continued hostility, always evaded the skill and bravery of the American forces. Hitherto it had been found impossible to induce those Indians to undertake a general engagement, but Colonel Taylor accomplished this end, and his conduct of the campaign was so much approved by the Government, that he was intrusted with the chief command in Florida. This command he held until 1840, when he resigned it, and was ordered to the command of the First Department of the Southern Division of the Army, bearing now the title of Brigadier General by brevet.

The relations between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, growing out of the annexation of Texas, now began to assume a portentous aspect. Dr. Channing, as far back as 1836, in his celebrated letters addressed to Mr. Clay, endeavored to enlist the powerful influence of that eminent statesman against the annexation, and in those letters he portrayed the mighty evils which must ensue. Mr. Clay, at a subsequent date, both before and after the annexation, warned the country that a war with Mexico would be the result of that measure. In anticipation of a collision, General Taylor was ordered, in 1845, to place the forces under his command in such a position that he might defend Texas, and afterwards take up a position on the Rio Grande.

It was not long after this order was issued when our Government declared a state of war to exist with Mexico. General Taylor was now the commander of the American army of occupation. The events of that campaign, following each other in such rapid succession, are among the most remarkable in the annals of warfare. For accuracy of judgment, comprehensive detail, invincible courage, modest prudence, collected wisdom, and generous humanity, not an example can be furnished, either in ancient or modern history, in which these high qualities were so completely united and active as in this chapter in the life of Taylor.

As we recur to that interesting period in our national his-

tory, and recollect with what anxious, impatient solicitude every eye watched the progress of the little army from Point Isabel,—how joyous to the American people were the tidings of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma,—how the obstacles of a long march, an unpropitious climate, and remarkable disparity of numbers were all overcome, and what splendid success attended every movement, until the crowning triumph of Buena Vista,—it is impossible not to admire his intrepid courage and marvellous success, and even more his singular modesty and unexampled humanity. His whole conduct in the progress of those battles, and his official account of each engagement, prove him to have been as just, merciful, and modest, as he was brave.

Were it needful, we could recite pages of examples, in which these distinctive qualities were displayed in an eminent degree, but one is sufficient for our purpose. At the close of one of those battles he dispatched a train of wagons with surgeons, to administer to such wounded Mexicans as might be found; and, being doubtful whether the Government would allow his claim for this extra expense, he directed a separate account to be kept, that if the allowance were refused he might pay it himself.

The war with Mexico terminated; Gen. Taylor returned to the United States. Previous to his return, his name had been frequently mentioned in the newspapers as a candidate for President, and his consent solicited by many persons and numerous assemblages of his fellow-citizens. To all such he addressed one uniform reply: "While serving my country in my present capacity, I cannot consent to become a candidate for any office." To this determination he most rigidly adhered, and it was not until the proclamation of peace, nor until large numbers of his fellow-citizens, in every quarter of the Union, had pointed to him as the candidate, that he consented to be placed in this responsible, and to him untried office. He had not solicited the honor; of that he was not suspected. He had not written letters, or made speeches, or attended public assemblies, or adopted any plan, or provided any means by which he could secure a nomination. Probably the idea of being President of the United States had not entered his mind, before his attention was called to it in the papers. And we suppose, that if the Mexican war had not been waged, Gen. Taylor would never have reached that high office. It was his eminent success in that campaign, it was the qualities of mind and heart then and there displayed, it was that consummate skill, that profound judgment, that

prudent courage, that heroism so nicely attempered with mercy, that union and combination of the higher and highest elements of greatness, that grouping of strength with delicacy, of Roman firmness with childlike simplicity, of loyal ambition with scrupulous fidelity,—it was these which enabled him to command the suffrages of his countrymen. And how well and how truly he exemplified the character of a President, and vindicated the policy which he believed would best promote the interests and honor of the American name! Educated as he was in the school of military tactics, his life spent in camp service, many of his best years passed on the frontiers, without the limits of refined society, yet he brings to the discharge of his official duties a wisdom and prudence which astonish those by whom he is most intimately surrounded. We have heard that the members of his Cabinet were amazed at his promptitude and accuracy of judgment, upon all the questions submitted for Cabinet decision, and it has become a proverb that he never made a mistake in his life. He gave patient attention to the counsels of others, deliberately weighed every suggestion, and then with true humility but with equal firmness formed and executed fearlessly his purposes.

In his ability successfully to administer the affairs of government, General Taylor felt and expressed a diffidence. It was this which caused him to hesitate when he was nominated, and which prompted the desire that some other candidate might be selected. But we are not confident that it diminished the authority of his influence after he became President; on the contrary, his influence was essentially increased by this partial want of self-reliance. It taught him to weigh with deliberation, but did not prevent him from acting with decision. When he arrived at a conclusion, then his self-reliance was always at command, and governed his uniform purpose to maintain and defend the laws and Constitution. An apposite illustration of this appears in that answer which he gave, but a few days before his death, to some one who had addressed him as to the prospect of a dissolution of the Union. "If," said he, "that standard ever be upreared, I will plant the stars and stripes by its side, and strike it down with my own hand, though no man south of the Potomac come to my aid." The purpose thus avowed, in language so empathic, his will would have prompted him to execute, with the same quiet courage with which he bore aloft the American standard on the plains of Mexico.

When the history of his brief administration shall be

written by an impartial hand, it will compare favorably with the history of any preceding administration. Gen. Taylor had selected Washington as his exemplar, and we believe his image was constantly before him, prompting his whole conduct, and inciting him to a course of elevated patriotism. With such a model, he had all that was required to carve out and pursue a policy at once peaceful and wise, energetic and conciliatory. He was a President who looked over sectional lines, and beyond present divisions, having at heart the happiness and prosperity, the peace and freedom of all men. It was this catholic spirit which made him an undisguised opponent of the extension of slavery. Citizen though he was of a Southern State, educated in the social habits which slavery creates, and the possessor of slaves in considerable numbers, yet not one word that he has spoken, not one line that he has written, not one deed that he has done, but have all contributed their influence to restrict and control the area of slavery. We had no reason to expect this from a man under such circumstances, and therefore the stronger evidence it is in favor of his discreet, humane, and liberal policy.

And thus as he was opposed to the extension of slavery, so did he exert his official influence to disseminate the principles of peace. Hero though he was, at home on the battle-field, inured to its toils and its perils, and flushed with many glorious victories, yet he permitted no occasion to pass, without a personal effort to adjust controverted questions. Not every man, occupying his place, would have brought to a successful and honorable issue the many difficult and vexatious points, which have been settled by diplomacy rather than the sword. It is a significant fact, that the only two Presidents who have died in office, although military men, both habitually studied to preserve peace.

From all that we have observed in the newspapers, in Congressional debate, and elsewhere, we are inclined to the opinion that General Taylor was not appreciated as he deserved to be. His military reputation, that is to say, the qualities which establish the name of a chieftain, courage, promptitude and discretion, these were accorded to him universally. But he was as far removed above the mere hero, as Washington was above the ambitious conqueror who led the armies of France over so many crimsoned fields. His mind was subjected to a severe discipline. He had none of the accomplishments of a rhetorician, none of the graces or gifts of an orator, none of that varied learning or profound know-

ledge which are the results of habitual and patient study. Destitute of all, he was nevertheless a great man, and we would select him as an example of true greatness. Review his conduct in the remarkable scenes in Mexico,—his humanity, his honor, his truthfulness, his courage, his justice, his urbanity, his modesty; take these several qualities, and see them all in such harmonious development; then look at him as the chosen candidate for the highest reward conferred by a grateful people. Observe the same unpretending spirit, the doubtful, hesitating expression of his fitness for the place, the propriety of his conduct during the contest; and when it is decided in his favor, and he is at the seat of government to assume the duties and responsibilities of Chief Magistrate, his pride is not elated, he is the same quiet, unobtrusive, and amiable man. Standing in his presence you are not abashed, for his kind and attentive politeness, so natural and sincere, will not permit it. You feel that he is your friend, and that you are his friend, and as you leave him a pleasant benediction goes with you. As the Executive to defend the honor, promote the happiness, and secure the prosperity of increasing millions, elevated to a place of more splendid power than ever sword or throne could command, he is the same just and generous man, mingling with his fellow-citizens of every grade, with a pleasant word of encouragement, and even engaging the affections and reciprocating the love of children, as he meets them frolicking in the public grounds. In his domestic life temperate, punctual, exemplary, these qualities and the qualities illustrated in military and civil stations, so beautifully blended, made him a great man, and an eminent example for others to emulate.

As General Taylor was possessed of so many attractive qualities, we may well inquire when and how he grew into this noble stature. Aside from the early impressions made upon his docile spirit by his good mother, General Taylor made himself. The long period passed on the frontiers, the months and years spent in the camp, were not years of profitless and exhausted strength. All this time habits of self-discipline were forming, the mind was busy while the body was active, and purposes were formed and plans laid out through whose influence a character was created which has made a deep impression upon the military and political history of this age.

Some sixteen years ago an attempt was made in Congress to reform the army service. It was assailed with great earnestness by the officers of the army then visiting Washington.

A member of the House of Representatives, who proposed the scheme and who was very zealous in its support, pending the discussion of the subject received a letter from a stranger, then Colonel commanding at Prairie du Chien, approving the plan, and tendering the aid of such suggestions as his experience in the service would enable him to make. This Colonel was Zachary Taylor. The member acknowledged the receipt of the letter, and soon Colonel Taylor addressed another to him, of sixty pages, in which the proposed reform was discussed with marked ability. The arguments of its adversaries he examined in detail, and in conclusion recommended a searching reform of all abuses in the several departments of the public service, and a return to the first principles of the government.

It seems to have been the destiny of General Taylor, if we may use that word in this connection, while he was President of the United States, to be deserted by many of those strong and able men, from whom he had a right to expect support. That this originated in personal ill-will we do not believe. There were other causes, which it is not necessary to enumerate, and as we refer to the fact, we cannot but express sorrow that he was subjected to this severe and unfortunate trial. He was a sensitive man, and neglect or censure on the part of a friend caused him unhappiness. It has been said, that the exciting questions before the country had some influence in hastening the period of his departure. In his extreme anxiety to be just to all interests, and to each section of the Union, in his scrupulous honesty and integrity, in his devotion to duty, and his reverence for truth, he displayed a greatness which deserved and ought to have commanded the universal approval of his countrymen, as it certainly will the applause of history.

ART. IX.—DR. JOHANN AUGUST WILHELM NEANDER,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, CONSISTORIAL COUNSELLOR, &c.

THE death of this illustrious and venerated man has already been announced in many of the weekly journals of our country. He died at his residence in Berlin, on the 15th day of July, at sixty-one years of age.

Neander was born on the 16th of January, 1789, at Göttingen, in the kingdom of Hanover. Most of his youth, however, was spent at Hamburg. Here he prosecuted the studies preparatory to his University course, and was favored with the special regard of the celebrated Gurlitt, director of the Johanneum, under whose management it had risen to the first rank among the classical schools of Germany. He now abandoned Judaism, in which he had been born and nurtured, and professed his faith in Christ; with what sincerity of conviction, and ardor of attachment to the new object of his faith, his whole life and writings have testified to the world. His University course he commenced in 1806 at Halle, and completed it at Göttingen. He then resided for a short time at Hamburg. Of his residence here, there is an interesting reminiscence in the fragment of a letter preserved among the works of the poet Chamisso; describing his amiable and talented young friend as wholly withdrawn from general society, and absorbed in communion with the spirit of Plato, to whose writings he was then devoting himself with characteristic ardor. In 1811 he proceeded to the University of Heidelberg, where he was admitted, after the usual test, to the privileges of a private teacher in the University; and in the following year was made professor extraordinary in the Faculty of Theology. In 1812 he was called to the University of Berlin, where he labored till his death.

His published works have been numerous, and chiefly in the department of ecclesiastical history, viz. :—

1. On the Emperor Julian and his Age, 1812.
2. St. Bernard and his Age, 1813.
3. Genetic Development of the Principal Gnostic Systems, 1818.
4. St. Chrysostom, and the Church, especially the Eastern Church, in his Age, 1821. (2d ed. 1832, 3d ed. 1849.)
5. Paul and James. The Unity of the Evangelic Spirit in Diversity of Forms, 1822. (Included in No. 9.)
6. Antignosticus. Spirit of Tertullian, and Introduction to his Writings, 1826. (2d ed. 1848.)
7. Memorabilia from the History of Christianity, and of the Christian Life, 1822. (2d ed. 1825–27.)
8. General History of the Christian Religion and Church, 1825, *sq.* (2d ed. 1842–46.)
9. A Collection of short Occasional Essays, 3d ed. 1829.

10. History of the Planting and Training of the Church by the Apostles, 1832. (3d ed. 1841.)
 11. The Life of Jesus, in its Historical Connection and in its Historical Development, 1837. (2d ed. 1839.)
 12. The Epistle to the Philippians, Practically Explained, 1849.
 13. The Epistle of James, Practically Explained, 1850.
- Besides smaller occasional essays, as e.g.: The Kingdom of Christ, the Kingdom of True Freedom and Equality, (on occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Prussian Bible Society,) 1849; Jesus's Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (on occasion of a festival of the Church,) 1849, &c.

Neander was not, as is very generally supposed, merely a man of the study. From two to three hours a day were spent in delivering lectures in the University. These, with the direction of the historical seminary, and the examination of theological candidates, were his principal official labors. But in addition to this, he devoted much time to personal intercourse with his pupils, to whom his house was open a portion of every day. The salutary influences thus exerted over the young, to which thousands live to bear grateful testimony, may justly be regarded as among the most useful labors of his life. He delighted especially in encouraging and furthering the efforts of young scholars; and many a useful work owes its origin to a hint from Neander, and its chief excellences to his judicious suggestions. He was remarkable for the warmth of his personal attachments; and no service was ever withheld from those who enjoyed his confidence and regard.*

It is superfluous to speak of Neander's merits in the department of history, in which he is chiefly known to the world as a writer. It is not so generally known, however, that nearly one half of his public labors in the University were devoted to the exegesis of the New Testament, and that his lectures in this branch of sacred learning were more popular, and commanded a far more numerous attendance, than in the department of history. Indeed it seems to have been his own favorite field of labor in the lecture-room. His method was the happiest union of the various elements essential to a perfect interpreter. The great charm of his exegetical lectures arose from his matchless power of combination; his perfect mastery of the subject enabling him to combine all the various topics of discussion in a continuous, unbroken stream of argumentation. The aids of philology

stood always at his command, but were never in his way. He was never diverted from his purpose to the easy task of commenting on words and phrases. The lumber of philology he left to others; its real uses no one better understood, nor could any more skilfully avail himself of them when required.

Neander's life was one of earnest and untiring effort. The springs of that activity—and this is his noblest eulogium—were his love of truth, and his love of man. He labored for both, where he believed he could do it most effectually, “in the defense and confirmation of the gospel of Christ.” To set forth the divine authority and the true teachings of the Holy Scriptures,—the church of the New Testament, as constituted by the Apostles of Christ under the guidance of his Spirit, and the church “through all times, as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity, as a school of Christian experience, a voice of instruction and warning,”—these were the labors to which “he felt an inward call,” and he obeyed it as divine. He held that the Scriptures are the sole repositories of divine truth; that in them God has, once for all, revealed himself for all ages of the world. His countrymen have long looked to him as the leading champion of this evangelical principle. He has maintained it, both in his lecture-room and in his writings, against that school of philosophical skepticism which has sprung up within the last twenty years, holding the Christianity of the church to be merely a progressive development of human thought and reason, imperfect in its beginnings, but advancing gradually to its destined completeness. In the efficacy of that Divine Word, rightly understood and attended by the quickening Spirit, he had full confidence, and in the simple, divinely appointed means for the maintenance and dissemination of truth. The truth, he believed, should be left to make its own conquests, alike unaided and untrammelled by human power, in the voluntary homage of the intellect and heart. He found, and has set forth in light never again to be obscured, the DIVINE recognition of this principle in the constitution of the New Testament church. With him, it should be remarked, this was not a speculative notion merely, a matter of history belonging to the past. It was the ordinance of God, essential to the true nature and well-being of the Christian church. The usual objections to it, on the ground of its inapplicability in practice, he treated with disdain. On one occasion, he showed the writer a letter which he had just received from the English translator of his *History*, objecting to his view of the primitive church the practical working of

such a constitution in the Independent congregations of England. "*Was für ein argument !*" (what an argument !) he exclaimed, with a good-humored laugh ; "*was kann man nicht misbrauchen !*" (what cannot be abused !) Of his own principles he made a noble and instructive application, in the case of Strauss, the skeptical author of the Life of Jesus. It was proposed by a department of the government to prohibit the sale of this work, and to confiscate the property ; and Neander was asked his opinion of the propriety of the measure. His reply is worthy, in its principles and spirit, of a place by the side of Milton's "Plea for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." The views of Strauss he admits to be wholly inconsistent with Biblical Christianity ; but being propounded with seriousness, and in the spirit and form of scientific discussion, they may properly, and in Neander's opinion necessarily must, be left to stand or fall at the tribunal of science. Of the wisdom of this decision no doubt can be entertained in our country ; but how far it was in advance of the age in his own, was shown by the unsparing denunciation of it in the leading journal of the evangelical party.

In his own field of inquiry nothing escaped his observation. Every source of knowledge was at his command. One instance in point may interest the readers of this journal. A young friend, by his advice, had written a history of Congregationalism in New-England, including an account of the rise of the Baptists in that section of our country. On his mentioning this work, curiosity prompted the inquiry, what authorities were relied on in giving the account of the Baptists. He turned and took BACKUS'S HISTORY from the shelf, (a work scarcely to be found even in this country,) remarking that it had been followed as the principal source of information.

This brief and imperfect notice must not be closed, without grateful allusion to an interesting personal trait in the character of this great and good man. It must be fresh in the remembrance of every one who has been favored with an introduction to him from a personal friend. The letter of introduction presented at the proper hour, (for, happily, a German scholar can command his time ; you are not expected at all hours,) and he is soon seated familiarly before you, inquiring after your health, your friends, the objects of your visit, and how he can aid you in them ; his benignant countenance meanwhile beaming with interest in every answer. As you rise to take leave, "Stay, let me note down your lodgings," and the street and number of your residence are duly entered

in a memorandum, for reference in case of need. Any subsequent change of residence is noted with the same care ; and every attention and assistance in his power is bestowed, with the most grateful and unwearied kindness. When at length you call to take a final leave, and to thank him for his many acts of kindness, the proffered hand is grasped with the earnestness of parental affection, nor is suffered to be withdrawn, till blessings on blessings are implored upon the stranger, with an eloquent fervor, and a simplicity and beauty of expression, which once heard can never be forgotten.

The good Neander ! Clarum et venerabile nomen ! The Philanthropist of all ages and climes, the Friend of Man, is no more !

T. J. C.

ART. X.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Der Brief Pauli an die Philipper, praktisch erläutert durch Dr. AUGUST NEANDER. Berlin. 1849.

Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, practically explained by Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Berlin. 1849.

Der Brief Jakobi, praktisch erläutert durch Dr. AUGUST NEANDER. Berlin. 1850.

Epistle of James, practically explained by Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Berlin. 1850.

These are the first two numbers in a projected series of practical expositions of portions of the Sacred Scriptures, from the pen of the lamented Neander. They are not addressed to the learned, though the views presented are the results of a life of learned research. The fruits of long and laborious investigation are here thrown out in a plain and familiar manner, adapted to all intelligent and reflecting readers of the Scriptures. A translation of the series, as far as completed, will be given to the public by Mrs. H. C. Conant. It was commenced, and the first number was ready for the press, when the death of the author was announced. The extract, which we are permitted to give below, is a specimen of his manner. What more appropriate close of a life devoted to the cause of truth, than this beautiful offering of piety and learning !

The author does not take up verse by verse, seriatim, but interweaves his explanation of single passages into a connected discussion of all the leading topics presented in the epistle. The following are his closing remarks on the interesting passage in ch. i. vs. 21-25, where the apostle represents himself, in the beautiful language of the author, as "in a strait betwixt two,—longing to depart out of the conflicts of the earthly life into the peace of the spirit's heavenly home ; from where the Lord is seen only by the eye of faith, to where in blissful nearness he becomes an object of

sight." The passage is selected as especially interesting in connection with the recent lamented death of the writer:—

Thus there was reason sufficient even for Paul, though rejoicing in conflicts for Christ's sake and finding therein his glory, still to long after that perfect union with the Lord in the life to come. In earlier years, indeed, we find him constantly referring to the contrast between the earthly life of faith, and the consummation not to be enjoyed till the resurrection. But at a later period, especially from the date of his second epistle to the Corinthians, we remark in him an ever-increasing consciousness that, as a necessary result of the inseparable union of believers with their Lord, both in his sufferings and his exaltation, they also shall on their departure from the earthly existence enter at once on a higher life of vision, into a higher, more undisturbed fellowship with him. Thus, in the 5th chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, he, in this view, represents the abiding in the flesh as an absence from the Lord, that is, from the immediate vision of Christ; while the state which follows, entered through death, through the laying off of the earthly life, is a being at home with the Lord. (2 Cor. v. 8) He expresses the same conviction in this epistle to the Philip-pians. Christ is his life. He distinguishes life in this sense from his life in the flesh. Christ is his true life; he has no life except in Him, none apart from Him. In Him that which alone he calls life has its being; it has its root in union with Him. And as Christ, having laid aside human infirmity, having risen and ascended to heaven, now reigns triumphant in the divine life, living in the power of God a life exalted above the reach of death; so also is this true of the life of the believer, as being one with His own, yea, one with Himself. And hence Paul concludes, that although even now, while abiding in the flesh, he has Christ for his true life; yet death is for him gain, inasmuch as through the laying off of the earthly existence, this true life, which has its being in Christ, shall be freed from the checks, hindrances, and disturbances by which it is still clogged, and shall attain to its complete development; he knows that with his departure from the earthly life, will commence his "being with Christ" in that more perfect sense, his presence with Him as an object of immediate vision. Hence this is the goal of his desires.

But there are two mistakes, against which the example of the apostle warns us, viz.: the declension, on the one hand, of that longing after the blessedness to come, which, as we have seen, is inseparable from the very nature and essence of the Christian life; and on the other, such a one-sided, morbid predominance of this desire, as to weaken the exercise of patient submission to the will of the Lord. As to the first, we remark, that it is not alone in the enjoyment of earthly gratifications, which we should ever remember are in their nature transitory and but a shadow and pledge of those higher, eternal heavenly joys, that the Christian may suffer the loss of this heavenward desire. Even his activity, in a calling intrusted to him for the promotion of the kingdom of God, may likewise so absorb him as to obscure the consciousness that he has here no abiding home, that his native country is in heaven. He labors as if his work upon earth, which is but the beginning of a higher activity destined for eternity, were to be consummated here, as if it were already the work of eternity. Hence the thought that here all remains fragmentary, that nothing reaches completion, nothing attains to its end, withdraws itself from him; and death surprises him in the midst of his labors, consecrated though they be to God, as an unexpected, unwelcome guest who finds him unprepared. He is called away before he has finished his account; and instead of following joyfully the summons to a release from the sufferings of time, his heart clings fast to that earthly scene of labor which he too reluctantly quits, to those happy results of his labors on which he has set too high a value. Here may be applied the admonition of the Lord: "Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven!" This heavenward longing is ever the salt of the Christian life, amidst all sorrows, all joys, in every season of repose, in every labor. But on the other hand, this very desire, in itself perfectly right but needing to be restrained by submission to the holy will of God, and by fidelity to the calling appointed us in this earthly life, becomes itself an error when it oversteps these boundaries. Thus arises a one-sided direction of feeling, an impatient haste for the call, which should be waited for with a steadfast, unfaltering patience. In this undue, all-engrossing longing after the eternal, the importance of the earthly life and of its duties, connected

as they are with the eternal, is forgotten. Earthly joy and earthly labor lose the proper value assigned them in the divine arrangement. That which the goodness of God has given us for the moment, as an earnest and a preparation for the higher joys of the future, is impatiently and unthankfully contemned. The consciousness is wanting, which should be ever present with the Christian, that for the redeemed united in fellowship with Christ, even here below, the earthly of whatever name, whether it consist in receiving or in doing, whether it be enjoyment or labor, is transformed into the heavenly. The temper of mind, which Paul's words exhibit, holds the just medium between these two extremes. The longing after the life of eternity, after the immediate society of the Lord, continues to be the ground-love of his soul, which no other can overpower. Through all the pressure of his labor in the service of God, this longing after the heavenly rest is not smothered, is not crowded from his heart. But he is far from an over-hasty impatience, which cannot await the end of the earthly conflict; far also from that more refined selfishness, which cannot endure to strive and labor longer for the salvation of others, and be still deprived of the quiet enjoyment of heavenly blessedness. Though to depart from the earthly life, and to be present with the Lord in a perfect personal union, be the goal of his desires; he is yet ready to deny this desire, the offspring of what is noblest in man, in order to labor still upon the earth and to strive for the salvation of his brethren.

Die Kirchengeschichte des 18 und 19 Jahrhunderts, aus dem Standpunkte des Evangelischen Protestantismus betrachtet. Von Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig. 1848 and 1849.

History of the Church in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries, surveyed from the Standpoint of Evangelical Protestantism. By Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH. Second improved edition. Leipzig. 1848 and 1849.

A combination of very rare qualities is required in a Church historian of our own times. Standing in the midst of the multiform tendencies which he is to portray, still in part undeveloped or seen in their more immediate results,—his own character and opinions themselves the offspring of these influences,—only great clearness of discrimination and the largest measure of Christian candor can save him from one-sided and partial views. These qualities Hagenbach possesses in an eminent degree. To these he united a brilliancy of imagination and a geniality of feeling which render him one of the most attractive of writers. He is no dry detailer of facts and statistics, but a living man in the midst of a living age. Every striking phenomenon, every leading tendency of the period embraced in his range of view, whether in theology, philosophy, poetry, or practical life, so far as it is an index or a source of religious opinion, claims attention in turn. In this respect we believe he is unique. The great minds in every department of thought or action which have contributed, purposely or not, towards forwarding or retarding the progress of evangelical Protestantism, are here sketched and their influence traced with a master's hand.

We understand that this admirable work is now in process of translation by Mrs. H. C. Conant. It will be a rich accession to our religious literature; and we doubt not it will receive, in this country, the warm welcome which has greeted its appearance in Germany, as an attractive as well as instructive book for cultivated Christian families.

Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada. From the MSS. of Fray Antonio Agapida. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 548.

Mr. Putnam has carried forward to the fourteenth volume the Works of Washington Irving; and gives us here that inimitable Chronicle which combines the verities of history with the charms of poetry,—presenting to the eye the scenes and events of the conquest of Granada, so as to give a

just idea of the manners, customs and spirit of both Christian and Moslem, while, at the same time, the imagination of the reader is taken captive by beautiful illustrative fictions which never tire. It is, in one word, the charm of this book, as of Mr. Irving's generally, that it is in the style which suits the theme. No history of the Conquest of Granada, written in sober prose, can give to the reader a just conception of the characters and deeds of those times. The dress of fiction is required by truth itself. In the introduction to this revised edition, Mr. Irving furnishes an interesting statement of the circumstances which led to the preparation of this volume, and attests the pains-taking with which he has sought historical accuracy. The volume, like all the series, is beautifully printed.

Europe, Past and Present: A Comprehensive Manual of European Geography and History, with separate Descriptions and Statistics of each State, and a Copious Index, facilitating reference to every Essential Fact in the History and Present State of Europe. By FRANCIS H. UNGEWITTER, LL. D. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 671.

The Manual before us is evidently the product of much of that kind of toil which to most men is irksome and repulsive,—the work of collecting and arranging facts. Dr. Ungewitter has performed an acceptable service. He has collected from numerous, and, to most readers, inaccessible sources, the leading and characteristic facts of the history and present condition of the European States, and so arranged them as to make them easy of reference. In the first place, he gives a general view of Europe, and then a chapter upon its social and political history. Its fifty-five States are next given in order, with descriptions, including, *first*, statements of area and population, surface, soil, natural products, manufactures, commerce, and trade; public finances, forms of government, strength of the army and (with maritime states) of the navy, and the orders of honor; *secondly*, the history, and *thirdly*, the topography of the State. An Index, including nearly *ten thousand* names, enables the reader to find at once any leading fact relating to European geography or history. We have never seen a work of the kind giving us equal satisfaction. It is well printed, and very substantially bound.

Popular Anatomy and Physiology, adapted to the use of Students and General Readers By T. S. LAMBERT, M. D. New-York: Leavitt & Company. 1850. 12mo, pp. 408.

It is an erroneous opinion, which even now prevails too extensively, that a knowledge of the construction, relations and uses of the various portions of the human organism, is difficult of attainment, and when attained is of but little importance to any but the practitioner of medicine or surgery. One occasion of this opinion is the formidable appearance and minute scientific detail of most works whose object it is to impart such knowledge. Aware of this truth, the author of the work before us has attempted to arrange and set forth the main facts of Anatomy and Physiology in a concise and easy manner, so as to render it at once intelligible and interesting to the general reader, as well as instructive to the practical student. About 150 engravings, among which are five lithographic plates, are interspersed throughout the book, to illustrate the principles advanced, and in almost every instance they are accurate and distinct. For the neat and attractive style in which the work is offered to the public, the publishers are certainly entitled to much credit.

We notice a peculiarity in the author's dedication, which to us is in

exceedingly bad taste. Not content with acknowledging his obligations to some of the most prominent medical men of the Old and New Worlds, he "respectfully dedicates" his duodecimo to "John and Sir Charles Bell, Cooper, Lawrence, Good, Horne, Richarand, and Lacunee, (who though *dead* yet live.)" We can account for this extraordinary dedication only on the supposition that the author is a believer in the doctrines of Swedenborg or of Andrew Jackson Davis.

The Berber; or the Mountaineer of the Atlas: A Tale of Morocco. By WILLIAM STARBUCK MAYO, M. D. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 454.

Dr. Mayo had already given evidence of his remarkable powers in fictitious narrative before the appearance of this volume. His "*Kaloolah*," though abounding in the most extravagant and improbable incidents, enchained the reader from beginning to end. We could never see, however, any good purpose for which that work was written. Indeed, we could never discover any general purpose in it, good or bad. In the volume before us, there is a narrative not less intensely exciting; and it has the merit, which that had not, of a basis in historical truth. Besides this, it has an object, to introduce to general readers the Berbers,—a remarkable race of mountaineers in Morocco,—a race of peculiar origin, manners and character, of whom, until lately, little has been known even by the learned. Dr. Mayo has given to the reader such an acquaintance with them as to awaken and stimulate curiosity—hardly enough to satisfy it. It might, however, have diminished the interest of the story to dwell at length on matters of ethnography or history. The story incidentally illustrates other things; such as Moorish life, and the relations of Christians and Moors in the times when African pirates were in the habit of devastating the seas, and even descending upon the coasts of Spain, and bearing away captives in triumph. It is, certainly, a remarkable and an agreeable book.

Mental Hygiene; or the Examination of the Intellect and Passions, designed to show how they affect and are affected by the Bodily Functions, and their Influence on Health and Longevity. By WILLIAM SWEETSER, M. D. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 390.

This is the second edition, re-written and enlarged, of a work relating to subjects of great practical moment, and evidently the production of an observing and thinking mind. Its leading object, as implied in the title, is "to elucidate the influence of intellect and passion upon health and the endurance of the human organization." It is impossible to study its pages without being instructed. To an accurate knowledge of our bodily functions, the author adds a clear insight into our mental structure, with powers of analysis of a high order, and a style clear and intelligible. But the work has a most serious blemish. The author seems to us like a man who can walk amid the beauties and fragrance of a garden in full blossom, and be utterly unconscious that there is either beauty in the scene or fragrance in the air. Religion—the author has heard of it, doubtless; for he has allusions to its presence in the world. But the allusions, though complimentary to religion, as he understands it, indicate no very high importance attached to it in his estimation; and as for *Christianity*, there is little evidence that he has any possible acquaintance with its claims, or character, or results upon the human mind and life. In our opinion, he might extend his studies in this direction with advantage, both for his own

sake and the sake of others. He would find that faith works by love, that it purifies the heart, that it enables its possessor to overcome the world, and that thus it puts the intellect and the passions into a frame tending to health and longevity. On the subject of preparation for death, we think he might find better instructions in Paul than in Epicurus.

Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell. Edited by WILLIAM BEATTIE, M. D. In two volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

For half a century Campbell has been acknowledged to be one of the chief names among the *Dii minores* of English poetry. At the early age of twenty-two he published the "Pleasures of Hope," which at once placed him among the best poets of the day. The success of this youthful effort seems to have had an unfavorable influence on the subsequent development of his genius. The fear of being unable to sustain his reputation rendered him unduly fastidious, and perhaps deprived his verse of that freedom and boldness that are necessary to the highest efforts of genius. Though the "Pleasures of Hope" has marks of immaturity of mind, occasional gaudy lines and imperfect figures, it has been the most widely popular of his long poems. There are passages in it that are embalmed in the memory, and occur unbidden to the mind as the noblest embodiment of generous sentiment and elevated moral feeling. In condensation, terseness, and polish of versification, it has never been equalled by so young a man, with the exception, perhaps, of the Essay on Criticism, which Pope wrote at the same age. Visiting the Continent in 1800, soon after Moreau's celebrated victory over the Austrians, the sight of the battle-field inspired the celebrated stanzas on "Hohenlinden." The verses of the poem roll on with a solemn movement, as if they echoed the sounding squadrons and terrible artillery that gained the battle. The "Exile of Erin," the "Mariners of England," and "Lochiel's Warning," soon after followed. In 1803 the poet removed to London. In 1809 he published "Gertrude of Wyoming." From 1820 to 1830 he edited the *New Monthly Magazine*, to which he contributed many of his minor poems. In 1824 he published "Theodoric," and in 1842 the "Pilgrim of Glencoe." Notwithstanding the elegance and occasional touching sentiment and exquisite beauty of Gertrude and Theodoric, we are disposed to think that the fame of Campbell will rest mainly on the "Pleasures of Hope" and his lyrical effusions.

"Hohenlinden," the "Mariners of England," the "Battle of the Baltic," the "Last Man," and "Lochiel's Warning," all throb and quiver in every line with the rush of life and strength of passion that mark the masters of lyric song. These will ever live in the hearts and memories of men. When once read they can never be forgotten. "Lochiel's Warning" having been read once in the hearing of Sir Walter Scott, it so fastened itself on his imagination and heart, that he was able to repeat it entire at a subsequent period. So long as the "meteor flag" shall wave on the seas, the "Mariners of England" will stir the blood of the British subject.

There are many points of similarity between Campbell and Gray. They had the same comprehensiveness and elegance of scholarship, the same sympathy with what is noble in human action and character, the same fastidiousness of taste, and were alike haunted by ideals of unapproachable loveliness and beauty. Both wrote little, and that little was finished to a degree approaching perfection. Their works are alike free from all those moral blemishes that so often cause the Christian to loathe the contact of works of genius.

The work of the biographer, Dr. Beattie, is mainly that of a compiler.

Perhaps the time has not yet come for a just and philosophical analysis of Campbell's genius and character; when that time comes, when the hundred years that Horace playfully allots as the test of the claim of poetry to immortality have elapsed, the work of Dr. Beattie will furnish abundant material for the critic's use. It is pleasing to learn that the poet, who has borne witness so often in his works to the reality and power of Christianity, was sustained by its promises and hopes when passing through the valley of death. He seems to have been cheered in his last hours by the immortal anticipations which he had described so beautifully in the "Last Man":—

"This spirit shall return to Him
That gave its heavenly spark;
Yet think not, Sun, it shall be dim,
When thou thyself art dark.
No! it shall live again, and shine
In bliss unknown to beams of thine,
By Him recalled to breath,
Who captive led captivity,
Who robbed the grave of victory,
And took the sting from death."

A.

Rural Hours. By a Lady. New-York: George P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 521.

This volume, dedicated "to the author of the *Deerslayer*," is understood to be the production of a daughter of J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq. "The following notes," says the fair author, "contain, in a journal form, the simple record of those little events which make up the course of the seasons in rural life, and were commenced two years since, in the spring of 1848, for the writer's amusement. In wandering about the fields, during a long, unbroken residence in the country, one naturally gleans many trifling observations on rustic matters, which are afterwards remembered with pleasure by the fireside, and gladly shared, perhaps, with one's friends." It would be difficult to find language more delicate in which to introduce such a volume, but its delicacy too far conceals the real character of the book. The book is, as it purports to be, a volume of notes, jotted down from day to day, relating to rural scenes which thousands have looked upon with little interest all their lives,—but these notes are the productions of a gifted and highly accomplished mind, which has not only observed the outward form and phase of nature, as seen by common eyes, but has minutely and successfully studied its inner life and its modes of operation. It has been given to her to see in nature what cultivated minds alone can see, and her descriptions, while they have often the life and beauty of poetry, are not less remarkable for the extent and accuracy of the scientific knowledge which they develope. Her book contains likewise incidental sketches of rustic life and manners, interesting for their truthfulness, and doubly so because in the shifting character of American society, there will soon be nothing to answer to such descriptions.

Much do we admire the book, and we need no spirit of prophecy to assure the author that her simple offering to the literature of her country, as she would modestly estimate it, will outlive many more ambitious volumes. The trees and flowers which she has described will be as fresh and beautiful in the lifetime of coming generations as now; the birds will sing as sweetly around her native hills;—and because she has been true to nature, nature will be true to her. Those who are to see the light in far distant times will dwell on her pages with unfailing interest, following her step by step over the scenes which she has described, and blessing her for

the beautiful memorial which she has left of "rustic matters" in ancient days. And as we have read this book, we have yielded a tribute of admiration to the father who has trained a daughter with tastes and habits, such as are here developed, rather than making her a butterfly, to attract for a few days the admiration of the drawing-room, and then pass away to be for ever forgotten.

The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt. With Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries. In two volumes, 12mo, 299 and 333 pages. New-York: Published by Harper & Brothers.

Leigh Hunt is an easy, gossiping, and generally pleasing writer. In these volumes of personal history and recollections of contemporaries, the egotism for which Hunt has ever been notorious contributes to the interest of the reader. The author's parentage, education at Christ's Hospital, so celebrated in the writings of Lamb and Coleridge, his successes and mishaps as an author, his imprisonment for a libel on the Prince Regent, his literary partnership with Byron in the publication of the "Liberal," his numerous acquaintances, some of them of high rank in literature, are all described with the greatest freedom, and perhaps with as much fidelity as it is possible for any man to describe what pertains so nearly to himself. His opinions on the gravest subjects are given as freely as the facts of his life. In politics he is a sort of royalist republican; in religion he partakes of all the characteristics of an English free-thinker. He takes special pains to express his disbelief in future retribution, and also to affirm that he believes in no doctrine of the Bible on the ground that it is a revelation, and rejects everything that does not commend itself to the head and heart of Mr. Leigh Hunt, neither of which is understood to be remarkable for its soundness. Lamennais, Robert Owen, Theodore Parker, and Newman, the author of "Nemesis of Faith," he regards as sustaining the relation to the world that the apostles and first Christians did in their day. He thinks it no matter what a man believes, provided he is "heartly, earnest, and sympathizing." We suppose he would trust his purse with a Jack Shepard, or his life with a Thug, though the one might have peculiar notions of the rights of property, and the other might hold murder to be a religious duty, if only these personages were "heartly, earnest, and sympathizing" in their respective creeds! We can admire these volumes as a piece of literary history, but it is certainly painful to witness such perversions of truth on matters pertaining to man's immortal interests. A.

Select Orations of M. Tullius Cicero; with Notes. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By E. A. JOHNSON, Professor of Latin in the University of the city of New-York. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850.

The orations of Cicero will never lose the place they have so long occupied among the best instruments of intellectual discipline and culture, which are employed in modern education. Every one must read them who aspires even to the most moderate scholarship, and no one can understand and appreciate them without feeling his own intellectual nature quickened and exalted by the influence which they exert over every faculty with which he is endowed. We are therefore happy to welcome every well-directed endeavor that is made, to render these delightful productions more accessible and more useful to the minds of the classical students of the country.

The edition before us forms an agreeable volume of four hundred and fifty

pages, and belongs to the admirable classical series now publishing by Messrs. Appleton & Co.—a series, which taken as a whole, we believe to be preferable to any other issued from the American press. It is founded in part on the English edition of Mr. T. K. Arnold, and both in its well collated text and in its judicious and discriminating notes, it bears the marks of the critical taste and rich professional experience of Professor Johnson, the accomplished editor. In schools and colleges it will undoubtedly take the place of every other edition now in use, and we trust will be a means of awakening new interest in the beautiful oratory which it enshrines, and of extending more widely among the youth of our country, those ennobling studies without which, even amidst the proudest achievements of science, scholarship and high intellectual culture—we had almost said civilization itself—will be likely to dwindle and decline.

The Oration of Æschines against Cleophon. With Notes. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor of Greek and Latin in Waterville College. Cambridge. Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1850.

This beautiful edition of an admired classic was laid on our table early in the summer and we intended to review it at length in a preceding number. It has, however, since received an elaborate and commendatory criticism in a contemporary journal, and has become widely and favorably known to classical scholars in all parts of our country. Both the Greek text and the English notes are printed with remarkable clearness and beauty, and the long experience and well-known scholarship of Professor Champlin are a sufficient guarantee that the edition is accurate and well suited to the class of scholars for whom it is designed.

The Theology of the Intellect and of the Feelings. A Discourse, delivered before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, May 30, 1850. By EDWARDS A. PARK, Abbot Professor in the Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Perkins & Whipple. 1850.

This is a discourse of rare eloquence and power, and before we have had an opportunity of calling to it the attention of our readers, it has been spread before them in the pages of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," for July, and in a separate edition, published by Messrs. Perkins and Whipple in Boston. It has been sought for with an eagerness which is seldom awakened by a production of the kind, and has been read with the deepest interest by Christian people in all parts of the land. In paragraphs of earnest and glowing rhetoric, it presents views, which, however bold and startling they may at first appear, will, we are persuaded, commend themselves to thoughtful minds as in the main just and sound. Such a discourse could have proceeded only from a fearless and independent thinker, and it will have a tendency both to improve the style of preaching among ministers and to unite the disciples of Christ of every name, by the ties of those common sympathies and common feelings, which are inspired by the sublime truths and the affecting scenes contained in the gospel narrative. We have been wholly unable to detect the latent heresy, which some of the newspaper critics profess to have found in the doctrines it contains, while we freely confess ourselves fascinated by the vigorous English and the rich and varied illustrations in which these doctrines are enforced. We should be glad, both as readers and hearers, frequently to meet with sermons, breathing the same spirit and possessing the same inherent power.

George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, King of Albania. By CLEMENT C. MOORE, LL. D. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia, Geo. S. Appleton. 1850.

This work, from the pen of ex-President Moore, late of Columbia College, narrates the story of that remarkable Grecian Prince, who in the fifteenth century so successfully withstood the arms of the Turks, and for a time delayed the appointed doom of the Eastern Empire. The story has been before told by Knolles, in his "History of the Turks," and referred to by Gibbon, in the "History of the Decline and Fall of Roman Empire," but it has never before been so fully presented in a modern English style. The exploits of Scanderberg in his campaigns against the Ottomans, form an interesting passage in the history of the middle ages, and the manner in which they are here narrated by Mr. Moore, will attract the attention of the reader, and abundantly reward a diligent perusal of the work.

English Grammar. The English Language in its Elements and Forms, with a History of its origin and development. Designed for use in Schools. By WILLIAM C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 675.

This book is an earnest effort in the right direction. It is a higher work on the grammar of our language, designed for students at that stage in their studies where grammar is generally abandoned, and as a help to teachers who desire to qualify themselves for their vocation by keeping always in advance of their pupils. It is unhappily and strangely the fact that the knowledge of our own language, of its origin, its structure, its forms, is among the branches of knowledge which are most superficially taught in our schools, and even in our colleges. Mr. Fowler seems to have been impressed with this fact, and we have mistaken the effect of his book, or it will perform an important part in working a remedy. We are glad to see within a brief compass the history of our language, illustrated by examples culled from the writers of successive ages. The provincialisms cited are curious as illustrating what has often been remarked, that the English language is more universally well-spoken in this country than in England. We have local peculiarities and offensive vulgarisms; but we have no such intolerable jargon as may be found in different counties in the mother country. We have reason to be proud of our distinction in this particular. What we need is such a knowledge of our language as shall make better writers, and this need is nowhere more noticeable than in many graduates of our colleges. More sins lie at the doors of our professors of rhetoric than can justly be laid to the charge of all other professors combined. We trust that this aid to reform from one of their brethren will stimulate them to good works.

The book before us is divided into eight parts. The first treats of the origin and history of our language, the second of its phonology, and the remaining six of its orthographical, etymological, logical, syntactical, rhetorical and poetical forms.

At a future day we hope to present to our readers an extended review of this work.

EDWARD H. FLETCHER, of New-York, has given the earnest of a complete edition of Dr. Alexander Carson's works, in his *Knowledge of Jesus the Most Excellent of the Sciences*. It is gratifying to know that such a book is well received. Marked by the usual defects of Dr. Carson's writings, its style is diffuse, sometimes careless, but it has those sterling excellences likewise which are characteristic of him;—it presses

towards its object with the utmost intenseness, and establishes its conclusions with irresistible force. Its design is to show that all true speculation leads to the peculiar truths of the Christian system,—that man gropes in darkness, ignorant of God and of himself, until he finds God in Christ, and his own high destiny in an obedient faith. It is a book to be commended to all classes of readers.—The American Sunday-School Union has published a superb 12mo edition of *The Life of Luther; with Special Reference to its Earlier Periods, and the Opening Scenes of the Reformation*. By Barnas Sears, D. D. This volume has received the unqualified praise of able critics. Dr. Sears has made Luther a study for many years, and in these pages has embodied the results of all previous investigations, especially of those later ones which have illustrated the earlier portions of the Reformer's life. From the year 1517 to 1546, Luther's own letters, which are voluminous and full of details, are made a principal source from which the materials of this work are drawn. These Dr. Sears has studied with patient care, and the results of his labors may be received with confidence.—The same association has issued the second part of the Rev. Charles Overton's Cottage Lectures on Pilgrim's Progress, entitled *Christiana and her Children*. Mr. Overton's Lectures have been much approved for their lucid exhibitions of evangelical truth. We have seldom read any practical religious work with greater advantage than his Lectures on Pilgrim's Progress.—Gould, Kendall & Lincoln have published a work entitled *Mothers of the Wise and Good*, by Jabez Burns, D. D., which, without being specially profound or original, abounds in illustrations of maternal influence, and is adapted to do great good.—Ticknor, Reed & Fields have published the *Confessions of an Opium-Eater, and Suspiria de Profundis*, by Thomas De Quincey, with the intimation of their intention to issue, at intervals, a complete collection of Mr. De Quincey's writings, uniform with this handsome volume. Mr. De Quincey has written largely for periodicals, and some of his performances, such as the memoirs of Pope and Shakspeare, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, have distinguished merit. The Confessions, published in the London Magazine, in 1822, and detailing the author's personal experience as an opium-eater, with the struggles and sufferings of his deliverance, form a work as unlike all other books as the state of mind in which an opium-eater lives is unlike the ordinary experiences of mankind. The character of the work is well-known, and its striking singularity will attract numerous readers for long years to come.—Baker & Scribner have lately issued several new works, some of which are of a high order. *The Paradise Lost, by John Milton, with Notes, Explanatory and Critical*. By Rev. James Robert Boyd. It is too true, as stated in the "reasons" for preparing this edition, that though the Paradise Lost is found on the shelves of every domestic library, and lying in beautiful bindings on every centre-table, it is read by a few only, and by the most of that few is but imperfectly understood. There are reasons for this in the inverted style, in the learned allusions, and in the boundless range of the poet's thoughts; but these difficulties yield to patient effort, and must be overcome in order to appreciate this great masterwork of man. To enable the reader to triumph over these difficulties; to put him into possession of the thoughts which sprung forth from the teeming mind of Milton, and clothed themselves at his will in language beautiful, stately, and overpowering, is the design of this work. It has been prepared as a labor of love, and with a generous enthusiasm. The editor has made diligent use of all previous annotations, and given liberally his own suggestions. We have not followed him far, but we have satisfied ourselves that the most of those who talk of admiring Milton would know far more of what they admire, by studying faithfully this edition. It is

printed on large, fair type, and makes a 12mo of 542 pages.—*Domestic History of the American Revolution*. By Mrs. Ellet. The story of the American Revolution never becomes a weary one. Each new writer looks upon that great event from some new position, and gives a picture varied from all preceding ones, and yet perhaps not less beautiful or instructive. Mrs. Ellet, in preparing her *Women of the American Revolution*, found herself in possession of materials which illustrated the more secret and unobserved springs of action of those times, and leaving the details of public policy and the movements and strifes of armies to others, she has laid open those springs and presented us with more of the heart of the people who so nobly sacrificed and struggled for freedom. She has rightly estimated the value of incidents as illustrating general character, and wisely interspersed them through her book. It can hardly fail to be a popular favorite. 12mo, pp. 308.—*Life Here and There: or Sketches of Society and Adventure at Far-apart Times and Places*. By N. P. Willis. There are some writers who, say what you will about them, are destined to find readers, always and in abundance. Of these Mr. Willis is one. We know not that he has contributed to the stores of learning or philosophy, or that the world will be the wiser or the better for his intellectual labors,—but he has found a way to the hearts of thousands, who seize his agreeable sketches of life and manners with an avidity that never fails. The title of this volume indicates its character as well as it can be done without an analysis of its contents. Its sketches are declared to be true to the manners of countries and places described, and many of its personal descriptions to be portraits of celebrated men and women whom he has had an opportunity to know.—*Reminiscences of Congress*. By Charles W. March. Nobody would suspect that a volume bearing such a title was no more nor less than a biography of Daniel Webster, brought down to the "Removal of the Deposits." Such, however, is the book before us. It supplies an abundance of interesting detail, and contains some sketches written with considerable power, but to us the writer's views seem narrow and his heart cold. His admiration of Mr. Webster is much like worship, and yet, with broader views and a warmer heart, he might have rendered to the illustrious subject of his *Reminiscences* a higher tribute in more moderate terms.—*The Psalms Translated and Explained*. By J. A. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. The first volume of this work appeared several months ago. The present extends from the 51st to the 100th Psalm. The third will complete the work. Dr. Alexander has brought to the preparation of these volumes the highest accomplishments of learning with the graces of a devout Christian heart; and, while he has rendered them an important aid to the Christian minister, he has made them altogether suitable for the study of intelligent private Christians. The translation, so far as we have examined, is varied just enough from the common version, on the one hand, to indicate its independence, and on the other to illustrate the excellence of that version both as correct in expression and setting forth to a large extent the very spirit of the original. The explanations are of great value, illustrating the meaning of the text in such ways as at the same time to minister to devotion and godly living. It is a pleasure to commend such volumes. We had expected for the present number an elaborate review of them from one of our ablest Biblical scholars, but have been disappointed. 12mo, pp. 349.—*Lessons from the History of Medical Delusions*. By Worthington Hooker, M. D. Dr. Hooker is already known to the world as a most cordial, as well as intelligent, despiser of all forms of quackery, by his observations thereon in his "Physician and Patient." What of justice he failed to do in that work, he has fully accomplished in this, which has the distinction of being the "Fiske Fund Prize Dissertation of the Rhode

Island Medical Society." The book is small, a 12mo of 104 pages, and we beg to call to it the attention of our readers generally, and especially of such as are in any danger of falling into any of the prevailing medical delusions. The clergy, even some of those who most dislike quackery in their own profession, are among those most frequently deluded, and we particularly request them to spend an hour or two over this Dissertation.—

Christianity Revived in the East: or, a Narrative of the Work of God among the Armenians of Turkey. By H. G. O. Dwight. Mr. Dwight is among the oldest and most respected of the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in this work writes concerning matters with which he has been intimately acquainted. The scattered accounts of the religious reformation among the Armenians, which has been going on for many years, have indicated the special presence and grace of God, and cheered the hearts of the friends of missions, but it may be doubted whether such accounts have given to any minds an adequate idea either of the extent and power of "the work of God," or of the wonderful providences by which it has been attended. In this volume these scattered testimonies are collected, and remarkable indeed is the narrative which they embody. We hope it may be extended widely among the friends of missions. It is written without the graces of rhetoric, but it has the merit of intelligibility, and the higher merit of Christian simplicity and truthfulness. 12mo, pp. 290.—Harper & Brothers have lately issued the *History of Darius the Great.* By Jacob Abbott. This volume forms an addition to the series which Mr. Abbott has been giving to the world through the last two or three years. They are written for those who have passed from childhood into more advanced youthful days, and with such skill in seizing the right points of the narrative, and imbuing the whole story with correct moral sentiments, as to sustain the interest of young readers, while at the same time their hearts are guarded.—Geo. P. Putnam has published *Sleep, Psychologically Considered, with reference to Sensation and Memory.* By Blanchard Fosgate, M. D. This Essay is designed to show,—“that during sleep, the mental faculties are as active as during wakefulness; that memory is no criterion by which to judge the mind in sleep; and that the mind is dependent upon the integrity of the organs of external sensation for a remembrance of what transpires during this state.”—The American Baptist Publication Society has issued, *Communion: the Distinction between Christian and Church Fellowship, and between Communion and its Symbols. Embracing a Review of the Arguments of the Rev. Robert Hall and the Rev. Baptist W. Noel in favor of Mixed Communion.* By T. F. CURTIS, A. M. The author of this volume is Professor of Theology in Howard College, Alabama. Though, if we mistake not, still a young man, his work exhibits maturity of mind, and especially a disposition to settle the questions discussed on ultimate grounds. “The object of the work is to exhibit the principle that the Lord’s Supper is a symbol of church relations between those who unite in its celebration.” The volume came into our hands so lately that we have not had time to examine it with anything like thoroughness; but such examination as we have been able to give it, impresses us strongly in its favor. Though on a much controverted subject, and reviewing counter arguments, it wears very little the appearance of a controversial work. It is rather a lucid exhibition of a practical subject for the edification and establishment of our own churches; and we are much mistaken if it is not found to promote the highest ends of practical godliness. We shall be glad if it is in our power to recur to this work again, and more at length. The volume is a handsomely printed 12mo, of 303 pages.—We have received likewise from the same source, and just on the eve of going to press, the first volume of a series of *Bunyan’s Awakening Works*, with an introduction by the Rev. John New-

ton Brown, who is editor of the Society's Publications. The present volume contains, the Greatness of the Soul, Sighs from Hell, and the Resurrection of the Dead. Mr. Brown has expended on the volume a good deal of editorial labor, but we are not certain that we can fall in with the principles by which it has been regulated. The selection determined may be wise for practical purposes, but corrections of Bunyan's style are doubtful endeavors. We say this, however, only by way of *caveat*, and not to condemn what we have but lightly examined. The volume is finely executed, and that its circulation will do good is not to be doubted.—M. W. Dodd has issued the third edition of *The Mercy Seat: Thoughts suggested by the Lord's Prayer*. By GARDNER SPRING, D. D. The value of this work, as a means of Christian edification, has been well tested. Its author is among the wisest and most successful of American pastors, and his practical works are always welcome. 12mo, pp. 382.—M. H. Newman & Co. have published *A New Method of Learning the German Language: Embracing both the Analytic and Synthetic Modes of Instruction; Being a Plain and Practical Way of Acquiring the Art of Reading, Speaking and Writing German*. By W. H. WOODBURY. The author presents this volume as the fruit of many years' study of German, both at home and in Germany, conducted with special reference to the objects proposed in his work. It proceeds on the principle throughout, that theory and practice are to be combined in the acquisition of the language, and aims to conduct the learner along by natural stages. It includes Reading Lessons, and the necessary Vocabulary. We commend it to the attention of teachers.—*A Practical Treatise of Book-keeping, by Single and Double Entry*, on a new plan, which embraces methods for farmers, mechanics, professional men, &c., as well as those for merchants and retailers. The work contains likewise an appendix of Definitions, Directions, and Practical Forms. Its author is P. MACGREGOR. 12mo, pp. 274.—Pratt, Woodford & Co. have published the third edition of Prof. Brocklesby's *Elements of Meteorology*, for Schools and Academies. It is a pleasure to see such a science successfully introduced among the studies of youth, with such facilities as are furnished in this work. This volume has the conclusive endorsement of Professors Olmstead and Silliman, as well as of other gentlemen of high standing.—The same firm issues *First Lessons in Greek, Introductory to the Greek Grammar*, by Rev. Dr. BULLIONS, whose grammars have been in extensive use for many years.—Nafis & Cornish have published among their approved school books, the sixteenth edition, revised, of Stoddard's *American Intellectual Arithmetic*, and the *Juvenile Mental Arithmetic*, a smaller work for younger persons, introductory thereto. The attention of teachers is invited to these works.—Lewis Colby has published within a few days, *The Churches and Sects of the United States*. By Rev. P. DOUGLASS GORRIE. This manual, a 12mo of 240 pages, contains "a brief account of the origin, history, doctrines, church-government, mode of worship, usages and statistics of each religious denomination, so far as known," and will be found convenient and useful for reference.—We have room to do no more than announce the appearance from the press of Baker & Scribner, of the second volume of Mrs. Anita George's *Queens of Spain*, in which the life of Isabella is drawn in darker colors than those in which Mr. Prescott has recorded her fame, and of two volumes by the Rev. Dr. RUFFNER, late President of Washington College, Va., entitled, *The Fathers of the Desert: or an Account of the Origin and Practice of Monkery among Heathen Nations; its Passage into the Church; and some wonderful Stories of the Fathers concerning the Primitive Monks and Hermits*. This work is the fruit of extensive research on a subject both curious and instructive. It will form the subject of a future notice.

 Several pages of both Notices and Intelligence are crowded out.

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